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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 16, 1900.

The Week.

There was a meeting of Anti-Imperialists at Faneuil Hall on August 8 to give expression to the sentiment prevailing in that quarter for the endorsement of Bryan at the Convention to be held at Indianapolis a week later. The principal speakers at the meeting were ex-Gov. Boutwell and Mr. Gamaliel Bradford. The upshot of it was a notice that the promoters intend to give an active support to Mr. Bryan, whether the Indianapolis Convention endorse his candidacy or not. This is their right, and, while we cannot join with them, we are glad that the spirit of independence in political matters is still alive in the sacred precincts where the voice of Gov. Boutwell was again uplifted for human liberty. It is evident that the endorsement of Bryan by the Convention at Indianapolis would be followed by a division at once. It is more proper to say that it has been preceded by a division, which would become more pronounced in the event that an attempt were made to bring in a verdict for Mr. Bryan, as the settled judgment of the persons, in various parts of the country, who are opposed to the experiment of a republic attempting to govern an empire scattered over distant parts of the globe. That a large number of them will refuse to vote for Mr. Bryan under any circumstances is now well ascertained.

Towne has withdrawn as the Populist candidate for Vice-President. Everybody expected that he would do this, sooner or later, and that the Populist National Committee would then put Stevenson in his place. Towne writes a long letter to explain his course, but the vital part of it is that in which he argues that Stevenson is quite as good a Populist as he is. He is entirely right about this. As he recalls, Stevenson was a Greenbacker in Congress over twenty years ago, and he opposed sound-money principles when he was Vice-President under Cleveland. If he should become President, he could be as thoroughly trusted by the Populists as Bryan. In fact, it would have been hard to pick out for the second place a man, nominally known as a Democrat, who so well represents the principles of Populism as Stevenson. Towne's brief record renders him a weak candidate beside this consistent supporter of unsound financial theories for twenty-five years.

An attempt has been made by the Brooklyn *Eagle* to discover the attitude of German-American voters in this campaign by questioning the editors of representative German-American newspapers. Twenty-four replies were received from editors whose journals are credited with a circulation of 325,000 daily, of whom fourteen think that Bryan will receive the majority of German-American votes, and five that McKinley will be favored by the larger proportion, while the other five are non-committal. As a rule, the smaller papers favor Bryan, the largest and strongest expression on that side coming from an editor in Duluth, Minn., who claims a circulation of only 1,475. The *Staats-Zeitung* of this city says that the majority of American citizens of German birth are equally opposed to Imperialism and to free silver coinage; that, as they are unable to defeat both at the same time, they will probably vote against the issue which they consider the most dangerous at this time; that the so-called German vote is awaiting developments, but that in any case McKinley will not receive so much support as four years ago. Several editors take practically the same view as is expressed by the editor of the Chicago *Abend-Post*, that a German-American newspaper has no better means for ascertaining the opinions of its readers, or of German voters generally, than a paper printed in English, and that German-American voters are divided in their opinions like all other citizens.

Mr. Coler has contributed his share to the much-needed work of directing the minds of the people of New York city and State to their own domestic affairs. There has, perhaps, never been a time when their local interests required their active interest and most diligent attention more than now. The system of boss rule has become so far perfected that it is a serious question whether the citizens who are not in politics for what can be made out of it—or, as Richard Croker has frankly put it, who are not "working for their own pockets all the time"—have any share in the government. It is certain that when they cease to have any share in the government they will cease to have any deciding voice in the control of their own property. The chief function of government is the taxing power. The men who can say how much shall be paid into the public chest, and by what method it shall be expended, are the government for the time being. If the taxpayers once lose control over the taxing power, the recovery of it may be possible only through revolution. The service that Mr. Coler has rendered consists in the practical and concrete way in which he has presented this overmastering issue to the people of the city and State. He has used the Ramapo Company for a text, and a better one could not have been found. But Ramapo is only one of many that might have been employed. Their name is legion and they are growing in number and strength in proportion as they are allowed to control the politics of the State. Gov. Roosevelt put a curb on them. They could not control him, but they managed to get rid of him, and now the question is whether his successor shall be a more manageable man, and whether the taxing power shall reside in one or other of the party machines (possibly in both), or whether the taxpayers themselves shall have the preponderating influence in that behalf.

Mr. Coler's influence reaches beyond the Democratic party. If he is to be nominated for Governor by the Democrats at Saratoga, that fact will compel the Republicans to give us an equally good candidate. Fortunately, the Republican Convention is to be held first. It cannot be known to a certainty beforehand whether Mr. Coler will be nominated or not. Therefore his influence will be exerted upon the other party almost as strongly as though he were nominated. The Platt machine must take into its reckoning the possibility of his nomination, and this possibility will become more and more alarming if Odell, or any tool of the machine, is nominated before the Democrats come together at Saratoga. If Mr. Coler is nominated, the backbone of Ramapo will be broken. This fact ought to have a decisive influence on Brooklyn, where the condition of the water supply depends not upon the amount of water obtainable, but upon the views of Tammany Hall. The politicians who have Greater New York in their grip are trying to compass the ends of the Ramapo concern by multiplying and exaggerating the difficulies of existing water supply, and pointing to this impecunious private company as the sole means of procuring a larger supply. Brooklyn is put to the torture for this purpose, and Brooklyn has it in her power to give the deciding vote for or against Mr. Coler at Saratoga. If she casts in her lot with Tammany and Ramapo, her punishment will come from them, and will be richly deserved. She can, on the other hand, contribute largely to the betterment of State and city politics, as well as of her water system, by giving to Mr. Coler her votes and influence in the Saratoga Convention.

The detailed statement as to the appropriations made by Congress at its last session brings out clearly the extent to which our national expenditures are swollen by outgoes on military and naval account, present and past. The largest

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single item in this list is that of $145,245,230 for pensions; the army calls for $114,220,095, the Navy Department for $65,140,916, and fortifications for $7,383,628, with $674,306 for the Military Academy. As the grand total is $710,150,862, it will be seen that almost one-half goes to expenses growing out of past and present wars and preparations against wars that may come. In addition to the specific appropriations for such purposes, contracts were authorized which cover two new battle-ships, three armored cruisers, three protected cruisers, and five submarine torpedo-boats, to cost, including armor and armaments, $43,194,094. Comparing the total for the session recently closed with the figures for the last session of the previous Congress, appropriations for the army show an increase of $33,789,891; for the navy, $17,040,947; and for fortifications, $2,473,726.

It is surprising and encouraging to find that the increase in offices and in salaries is not so large as was to have been expected. It is true that new offices were authorized to the number of 5,069, but 2,799 were at the same time abolished, and more than half of the net gain was for additional clerks in post-offices, and assistant postmasters, almost all of whom were undoubtedly needed. The same is true of 97 new places in the Congressional Library, and a pretty good case is made for most of the other 886 offices created, except the twenty-three for Congress, the presumption being that these places are established for political reasons. While 487 salaries were increased, at an annual cost of $135,188, only eight were reduced, to the amount of but $1,658. Nearly two-thirds here goes to 300 supervisors of census, who are appointed for political reasons, and who consequently find it much easier to get $250 extra apiece than more deserving men who have no "pull."

A rise in the stock market in the face of large exports of gold is an unwonted phenomenon, but it is explainable by the fact of dulness in the money market so extreme that an expulsion of a part of our surplus capital is felt as a relief. Further evidence is found in the fact that the entire British loan was oversubscribed in this market, and that the large subscribers were allotted only one-half of their subscriptions, the smaller ones getting about 60 per cent. The truth must be acknowledged that business is not good, and that the boasted prosperity which was to carry the Republicans to an easy victory this year has disappeared. It may reappear in the early autumn—we are inclined to think that it will—but, for the time being, stagnation exists. Manufacturers are running on half time, or closing temporarily, in order to work off surplus products, and perhaps to stave off disputes about wages. Some part of this stagnation is due to the political campaign itself. A Presidential year is always relatively a dull year. Yet this summer is duller than the corresponding period of 1896, although the danger arising from currency madness was greater then than it is now. Probably the inevitable reaction from the tremendous speculations of the early part of 1899 has come somewhat sooner than it was expected, but fortunately it was not ushered in by a money panic. If this be the true explanation, the reaction must work its own cure. Nobody can do anything about it. Things must take their own course.

The outburst of angry criticism, in the conservative London press, against Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's policy in allotting the British Exchequer loan, reminds the reader curiously of the similar attacks on Secretary Carlisle after the American loan of 1895. In both instances, it is plain that national pride was touched by the Government's appeal to foreign capital. In both, the public criticism was sharpened by the fact that the loan was placed beforehand by private arrangement, and was not opened to subscription by the general public. On the Government's side the resemblance is still more marked, in that the policy of placing the loan was in each case governed distinctly, not by simple need of capital, but by the wish to obtain such capital in the form of gold, to restore a depleted reserve. On February 12, 1895, immediately before the issue of the Belmont-Morgan loan, the total cash reserve in the Treasury stood at the sum of $143,000,000, which, though not large for the Government's purposes, was still not alarmingly low. But the gold reserve against legal-tender notes, which should have been kept at $100,000,000, had fallen to $41,340,000. Domestic loans had failed to prevent the constant depletion of the gold fund through note redemption, and the Treasury therefore had recourse to the foreign markets. One-half of the gold paid over, the loan contract stipulated, "shall be obtained in and shipped from Europe." In the week when the British Exchequer closed its recent contract with the New York bankers, the Bank of England's ratio of reserve to liability had fallen nearly to 35 per cent., 40 per cent. being the accepted minimum of security. The Bank of England, as the issuer of Great Britain's currency, is always a cause of legitimate concern to the Government; it needed to replenish its gold reserve; the foreign exchanges were unfavorable, and the placing of another loan in London would not only add nothing to the Bank's reserve, but would pile up another load of liabilities through borrowing by loan subscribers.

So far, the analogy of the loan expedients is rather striking. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's operation ought to go far to remove from the popular mind the lingering notion that Mr. Carlisle's bond sale of five years ago was a reckless piece of financiering. It is true that the American loan of 1895 went to the bankers below the price commanded on the market by similar outstanding bonds, whereas the British loan went virtually at the market price. But it must be remembered that the Exchequer issue is a gold loan pure and simple, and that the Belmont-Morgan syndicate offered in 1895 full market value for bonds with the same provision, which Congress elected to refuse. Furthermore, we may add that the circumstances warranted Mr. Carlisle's operation far more unquestionably than they have warranted that of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Mr. Carlisle, in borrowing gold in 1895, was distinctly fulfilling his official duty, and discharging a legal requirement of his place. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, as London critics have not been slow to indicate, went somewhat out of his way to help an institution which had not exhausted the means of relieving itself. It was the common opinion in Lombard Street that a further advance in the Bank of England rate, or even less radical expedients, would certainly have drawn gold from New York, and probably from elsewhere. What is, perhaps, most important of all in this comparison, is the fact that in 1895 the convertibility of the United States currency was *in imminent peril*. At New York, the conversion office for the Government notes was already on the verge of suspending payments. No such crisis had arisen this month in London to force the hand of the Exchequer. The real danger was not suspension of gold payments, but merely such compulsory contraction of Bank of England loans and liabilities as would demoralize financial London.

The Neely case continues to present novel and interesting phases. In its zeal to secure punishment, the Government appears to have instituted three different proceedings, hoping that one would succeed if the others failed. Judge Lacombe took a favorable view of the extradition proceeding, but announced that he would not sign an order until the other proceedings were discontinued. But just as he was about to sign the order, the Government at the same time being ready to discontinue the other suits, Neely's counsel applied to Judge Wallace for a writ of habeas corpus. The application was denied, but an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was allowed. The ground of the application was the imprisonment of Neely under the act of June 6, 1900, which was passed for the especial purpose of sending Neely to Cuba for trial; his counsel claim-

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ing that the act was unconstitutional. But it seems that Neely was not held under that act. He was arrested in a civil suit for conversion. Probably this was done in order to preclude an application for habeas corpus. Judge Lacombe's idea seems to have been that Neely might be detained in this way until the moment for extradition arrived, when the civil suit, having accomplished its purpose, could be dropped, and the extradition effected.

Neely's counsel, however, did not regard this method of administering justice with favor. He maintained that the Government was trying to hold his client prisoner under one law, in order that another law might be applied without possibility of delay. He contends that if he had waited until the order of extradition was signed, it might not have been possible to find a Federal judge to whom application for a writ of habeas corpus could be made in time to be of use. The Government could probably have hustled Neely off without a moment's delay. Technically, the application was premature. Until the prisoner was restrained of his liberty in the extradition proceedings, there was no ground for the application. But, as a matter of fact, the action for conversion was brought in aid of the extradition proceedings, and Judge Wallace was justified in taking cognizance of it. His action is in accordance with the best traditions of English law. This must be said, however much we may regret the delay which it occasions in bringing Neely to justice.

The Legislature which has just been elected in Alabama was chosen with a "mandate" to provide for the framing of a new Constitution, or the amendment of the old one in such a way as to eliminate the negro vote. There is no State in the Union represented by a worse Bourbon on this question than Senator Morgan of Alabama, who will be reëlected by the new Legislature. He has openly declared himself against allowing the exercise of the suffrage by any man who has a black skin, no matter how well educated he may be, or how much property he may have. But there is an element in the Democratic party which declares for fair play in this matter. This element finds a spokesman in the Birmingham *Age-Herald*, which insists that "the best thought of the State should be given to the devising of a plan that is better adapted to the State than either the Mississippi or Louisiana plan would be," the first of which it condemns for "trickery" and the second for "doubtful constitutionality." Instead of the "understanding" test in Mississippi, or the "grandfather provision" in Louisiana, the Birmingham Democratic editor recommends that the exercise of the suffrage be made dependent upon the paying of all taxes at least one year before an election. Under this system, the *Age-Herald* says, "a negro who acquires property would be entitled to a vote; and as such a negro would be a good citizen, he should be allowed to vote."

The celebration, in certain States, of an "old-home week" is a social event of some significance. Started in New Hampshire a year ago, the movement has this year spread to Maine, where last week was largely given up, in a number of the larger towns and cities, to appropriate festivities. New Hampshire is celebrating again this week, and there is talk of similar observances in Vermont. There would seem to be no reason why the enthusiasm should not extend to other States, particularly the older States of the East, where pride in a long and distinguished past affords a peculiarly favorable basis for appeal. It must be confessed that there is something more than ordinarily attractive in this idea of calling back to a community, for a few days in the summer, former residents, and asking them to make themselves, for the time being, once more "at home." On the other hand, there is always the possibility that the community itself, in spite of its gala dress, may nevertheless suffer somewhat in repute. If it be, as is so often the case in older New England, a community of slow or even backward growth, old-fashioned in the discreditable sense of being behind the times, the impression it is likely to make upon the visitor may be the reverse of flattering. The signs of a lack of public spirit—bad roads, unpainted buildings, unkempt dooryards, poor hotels, unsightly schoolhouses, dangerous and offensive sanitary arrangements—cannot pass altogether unnoticed by those who have had the good fortune of larger contact with the world, nor are they likely to enhance affection or respect. There may be temporary pleasure in a change of scene, a passing emotion at the awakening of memory and association, a spontaneous and healthy interest in what is quaint and odd; but the net impression will nevertheless be one of dulness, inanition, and decay. And yet, this very impression may help to stimulate in the visitors that New England public spirit which has already dotted the land with memorials such as public libraries, parks, hospitals, and other charitable foundations.

The dispatches from China are not yet such as to inspire confidence in the sincerity and good faith of the Chinese Government. That the Chinese are alarmed at the progress and success of the allies, and are ready to talk about peace, is probable enough; but that the conferring of the necessary power upon Li Hung Chang is anything more than a device for gaining time, is still to be proved. Moreover, the reports of continued disturbances in other parts of the country than the neighborhood of Pekin raise grave doubts as to whether the present Government has sufficient control of the situation to make a peace agreement effective. All advices point to the continuance of grave danger for the Ministers, and the necessity of pushing, without delay, the plans for their relief. It is highly probable, however, that the very fact of their imprisonment at Pekin is just now one of the best assurances of peace. If China could only get the Ministers safely out of the country, and rid itself of the burden which their presence imposes, it would have a much freer hand, and might continue indefinitely to set the world at defiance. But the repeated warnings, too explicit to be misunderstood, that the Chinese Government will be held strictly responsible for anything that may befall the foreign representatives, can but have had a sobering effect, and made a peaceful settlement somewhat more probable. As yet, however, none of the Powers seems inclined to purchase peace by any abatement of its previous demands, so that negotiation is likely to be rather a one-sided affair until China turns more of its fair promises into acceptable performance.

As we go to press, the latest news concerning the movements of the foreign troops is distinctly encouraging. The advance of the allied forces has been unexpectedly rapid, and the report that they had several days ago covered half the distance between Tientsin and Pekin can but raise hopes of their ultimate and speedy success. The temporary disappearance of Chinese opposition, while very welcome, must not, of course, be taken to indicate as yet a collapse of Chinese resistance; nor must it be forgotten that every mile traversed adds to the dangers of the allies, and that the most serious obstacles are yet to be overcome. The report that the reply of the United States to the Chinese peace overtures has the approval of the Powers, including Russia, and that the permission given the Russian Minister to withdraw from Pekin was not intended as an order, but rather as a test of Chinese good faith, is also encouraging. In the present juncture, and with reasonable grounds for anticipating success for the international arms, the withdrawal of any Power from the concert would be most inauspicious. Perhaps it is too much to expect that the rival claimants in China will not, under real or alleged apprehension of attack, follow the lead of Great Britain and take measures to protect their respective "spheres" and "concessions"; but there is everything to be gained just now by joint effort and sincere coöperation.

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MR. BRYAN'S MANIFESTO.

It is impossible to deny that Mr. Bryan's carefully prepared speech at Indianapolis on Wednesday of last week was a great political and oratorical achievement. Fault may be found with it here and there—we shall point out what we consider the weak parts; but it is fair to say that neither Senator Hoar, nor Carl Schurz, nor ex-Gov. Boutwell, nor all of them together have produced a more masterly indictment of Imperialism. It is far in advance of anything its author himself has ever done before on any topic of public discussion. When we announced our intention not to support Mr. Bryan, although agreeing with him on the issue which forms the text of this speech, we said that we should tell the truth, as we were enabled to see it, about him and every other candidate and person and thing in this campaign. Our opinion of the Indianapolis speech, as a whole, is accordingly stated without reserve. It was so good as to prompt the advice of a single speech campaign on the part of this candidate. It was skilfully calculated, not only to cause the greatest uneasiness in the McKinley camp, whose chief is quite unequal to any counter oratory, but to diminish support for the third-party movement. It fixes the issue and forces the fighting, and must, with candid judges, greatly raise the estimation of Mr. Bryan's statesmanship as well as intellectual calibre. Above all, it gives distinct pledges of future Executive action which advance the candidate beyond his platform. On the other hand, its elevated tone is opposed to so many speeches and sayings in Mr. Bryan's previous career, and especially in the last Presidential campaign, that it seems as though there might be two Bryans in public life.

Mr. Bryan's theatrical outburst about the crown of thorns and the cross of gold by which he captured the nomination four years ago, was not the index of a sincere mind. It was an *ad-captandum* address to a mob for vote-catching purposes. We find in the opening of his Indianapolis speech an *ad-captandum* appeal more refined and guarded than the one of four years ago, but of the same general scope and tendency. He says that the Republican party is dominated by influences which constantly tend to elevate pecuniary considerations and ignore human rights, as though the Democratic party were measurably free from influences of this kind. If there is any place where money counts for more than it does in Tammany Hall, or where its use is more brazen and flaunting, we have yet to hear of it. If there is any region where human rights are more systematically violated and trampled on than in the Southern States, where the Democratic party finds the bulk of its strength to-day, we should like to have it pointed out. Evidence to show how the Republican party tends to elevate wealth and ignore human rights is pointed out in detail by Mr. Bryan, and with a color of truth, but his suggestions and inferences are essentially false. The motives which prompt Republicans (and many Democrats) to favor the gold standard, and the national-bank notes in preference to Government paper, are quite apart from any thought of aiding rich people to make more money or of robbing the poor, and this Mr. Bryan knows very well. As to Trusts, any one desiring to tell the truth would say that the responsibility for them does not attach to any party; that, however bad they may be, they are an outgrowth of modern conditions of trade, and are without political affiliation except as the Democrats have made rather noisier attacks upon them, and have thus caused them to lean rather toward the Republicans.

The weakest part of Mr. Bryan's speech is that in which he defends his action with regard to the treaty with Spain. He says that he favored the ratification of the treaty in order to "end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures, and then give the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty." He goes on to explain how much better it would be for the American people to rise up gloriously and bestow independence on the Filipinos than to put it in the treaty by an amendment and thus extort it from Spain. Now Mr. Bryan had his way in the matter of ratification, yet war did not end, the troops were not released, war expenditures continued and multiplied; and all these things were shown to be inevitable by Mr. Bryan's fellow-Democrats who occupied seats in the Senate at that time.

Mr. Bryan defines his Philippine policy by saying that, if elected, he will convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as he is inaugurated, and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands; second, to give the Filipinos independence just as we have promised to give it to the Cubans. Senator Hoar, in an interview published in the New York *Times*, criticises this part of Mr. Bryan's speech with much severity. He says that Mr. Bryan "knows that if there should be a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives equal to his wildest hopes, and if the Republican majority in the Senate should be reduced or wiped out altogether, so that there will be a tie—which is, I suppose, beyond his most sanguine expectations—there are still earnest and pledged Imperialists enough in the Democratic party to prevent any such action." The effect upon Congress, however, of the election of Bryan is not taken into the reckoning by Senator Hoar. It is conceivable not only that it might consolidate the Democratic party and make it obedient to Mr. Bryan, but that it might bring him some Republican support also, including that of Senator Hoar, who could not refuse to support a policy under Bryan to which he is committed under McKinley. Evacuation of the Philippines in some decent, orderly way, to be followed by self-government, is the substance of Bryan's programme. We can conceive of Senator Morgan's opposition to such a policy because he has been opposed to it from the beginning, but we cannot conceive of Senator Hoar's opposition. It is pretty safe to assume that, in the event of Bryan's election, he would have the support of Senators Hoar, Hale, Mason, Wellington, and Spooner in any decent and practicable method of doing in the Philippines what we have promised to do in Cuba.

It is too soon to estimate the probable effect of Mr. Bryan's speech in converting the Democratic party to the Anti-Imperialist views of their leader. We are still without evidence that the party, as a whole, had any definite ideas on this subject before the Kansas City Convention met, or that it has acquired any since; but if it generally reads this speech, it cannot fail to gain some, and, as the campaign progresses, it will be put to the necessity of repeating what Mr. Bryan has said. In this way we may look for an elevation of sentiment in that party which will be beneficial to the country in the future, regardless of the result of the coming election.

THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The people of this country, we fear, now take but a languid interest in the elevation and assimilation of the Filipinos. Those matters have been put in charge of a large army and of an able Commission, and the public are very willing to leave all responsibility with them. Events in China now engage our attention, and the excitement of a Presidential campaign will soon exclude all other interests. Such a result was to be expected. It is in the nature of things inevitable. Most men have little time to spare for anything but their own business, and the government of our colonies will soon pass into the normal state of such governments. It will fall into the hands of a bureau, and the public will know nothing of what is done, nor care to know, except occasionally when some gross case of oppression or corruption occurs. Under these circumstances we can hardly regard the course of the New York *Herald* in maintaining a special correspondent in the Philippines as good "journalism." A person of such ability can be more effectively employed in China; but the picture of the Philippine situation which he has drawn in his letter of April 19 ought to be read by every one who has contended that Provi-

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dence or destiny has made our people responsible for the government of those islands. If there is any such thing as responsibility, facts are indispensable to its intelligent assumption, and we shall attempt to present the facts, as stated by the *Herald* correspondent, in a summary way.

In the island of Luzon there are 216 separate garrisons, holding cities and villages in the twenty-seven provinces. A battalion of soldiers can now move from one of these points to another without meeting with any effective resistance, and in some regions without meeting any resistance at all. In this sense the island is pacified, and there are no more "insurgents." The armed natives are now called "ladrones," "robbers," and "bandits." There are no more battles, but nearly every day there are fights in which the Americans lose one or more, and the natives one hundred or more. After one of these fights a report is issued that a band of robbers has been destroyed; but before many days another fight occurs in the same region. The robbers may be scattered, but they do not remain scattered. Nevertheless, everything is quiet, according to the official statement. The mass of the people, it is claimed, desire American rule, but are unable to resist the small but pestilent minority, who tyrannize over them. Even with the aid of our army, the great majority of the people are unable to resist these robber bands, and reluctantly supply them with all the food and money that they need.

Officially viewed, the situation is that of tolerably complete conquest. American troops are in every province; native municipal governments set up in all the garrisoned towns; resistance confined to bands of robbers; the insurgent army and organization dissolved; the enemy's ammunition exhausted, and their guns captured; ports open and coasts guarded by our navy; and Aguinaldo a fugitive, not knowing where to lay his head. But the official view does not cover all the facts. The Filipinos have their commanders in the very districts occupied by our troops, their muster-rolls are kept up, although their soldiers are apparently peaceably working at their homes, and their arms are hidden. Twenty thousand rifles are believed to be still in their possession. Whenever a small force of Americans undertakes an expedition, the woods and hills become alive with enemies. After a short experience Aguinaldo realized that the Filipinos could not resist the Americans in a pitched battle. He directed his forces to disband, some of them to return to their homes and hide their arms, others to maintain a guerrilla warfare. Since the capture of Tarlac there has been no battle, nor any cessation of hostilities.

The *Herald* correspondent has investigated the captures of arms which have been reported, and finds their numbers exaggerated. An official bulletin posted at Manila gave an account of the surrender of 800 armed men; but only 40 rifles were actually taken. The bodies of armed men are too large to be described as mere bands of robbers, and many of them are known to be commanded by men who have been insurgent leaders from the beginning. The theory that these bands terrorize the whole population has no support in facts. The American troops have done the terrorizing. Their conduct in some actions has been so ferocious, and their revenge in many cases so terrible, as to make them dreaded and hated. The natives submit to the Americans because they are afraid of them; they secretly support the "ladrones" because they are their relatives and friends, and because they sympathize with them in their resistance. It is said that in every town occupied by our troops and regulated by native officers installed by us, there is a separate and secret organization conducted by the "insurgent" element. This organization collects taxes from a population which pays them willingly; and the officers whom we have selected to rule give the cause of the Filipinos all the assistance they can. The American officer in charge of one military district in the north of Luzon told the *Herald* correspondent that of the ninety-five presidentes appointed, not one could be trusted; and yet this is not a Tagalog district. In another district the general commanding declared that but three out of fifty-five presidentes appointed by us were trustworthy. In another district twenty-two of these presidentes are now under arrest. Manila and the region surrounding it are held down by 33,000 troops; but elsewhere our sovereignty is limited to the spots occupied by our garrisons. Our rule is detested; and there is no reason why it should not continue to be so.

The sole defence of the slaughter of the Filipinos offered by those Americans who defend our course on moral grounds, is that we are relieving a friendly and peaceful population from the oppression of robber bands. We are killing a few robbers, in order to protect the great masses of orderly natives. What evidence supports this theory? How many Filipinos are killed by these bandits, and how many by our soldiers? By whom has most property been destroyed? Whose taxes are heavier? The proof is overwhelming that we are forcing our rule on a sullen and reluctant people, by methods which will make us hated for generations. We have killed perhaps 30,000 Filipinos. Their children and relatives and friends do not love us for it. They are denounced for failing to appreciate our benevolent intentions; but since they do fail, our justification also fails.

THE ENEMIES OF CIVILIZATION.

The supposed massacre of the representatives of the Christian Powers at Pekin has aroused a spirit which it is impossible to regard without apprehension. There was a natural and legitimate demand for the punishment of the persons guilty of the reported cruelties, whether they were directly or indirectly responsible for them. But there went with this a clamor for vengeance, a cry for blood, that had little relation to justice, as it has come to be understood in civilized jurisprudence, and even less to Christianity. We have listened with a feeling of amused superiority to the story of the traveller who was assured, in response to his demand for the punishment of some members of an Asiatic tribe who had insulted him, that not only the malefactors should be killed, but also their wives and children and grandchildren, and their parents and grandparents. This barbaric travesty of justice, however, is what some people are now demanding. They insist that the injuries suffered by foreigners in China shall be revenged on the Chinese without discrimination. Even those who do not make this outrageous demand, take the position that the Chinese Government must be taught to be humane by an extensive slaughter of its subjects, whether innocent or guilty.

That this is no meaningless outcry is shown with painful clearness by the accounts which now reach us of the conduct of the Russian soldiers at Tientsin. These accounts cannot be dismissed as the inventions of newspaper correspondents. They are furnished by missionaries who have reached this country, and whose names are known. One of them asserts that when the Chinese officers in command of the Taku forts, who seem to have done only their duty in resisting the attack on them, surrendered and offered their swords, the Russians refused quarter and shot them all down. He declares that, to his knowledge, in one village, the women and children were driven into the river and then shot. The wife of an American, a Commissioner of Customs at Tientsin, says that she escaped slaughter by the Boxers only to witness the most horrible excesses on the part of the Russian troops. These advance agents of civilization tortured and murdered Chinese mothers with babes in their arms, and tossed these helpless infants from bayonet to bayonet. After shooting and murdering, these soldiers pillaged and burned the houses of their victims. The President of the Imperial University of Tientsin, Prof. O. D. Clifford, who was one of the last to leave the city, declares that looting by the allied forces began as soon as they got the upper hand. He saw eight cold-blooded murders committed by the Russians, the victims being old and infirm Chinese. Mr. McIntosh, an American who was en-

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gaged in setting up machinery at Tientsin, gives similar accounts of the behavior of the Japanese. They waste no powder, he says, when they capture Chinese, and "lined up six one day, tied them together, and deliberately disembowelled them."

Warfare of this kind has made the names of Attila and Genghis Khan infamous throughout Christendom. Such barbarities, when committed by the Turks on the Armenians, raised cries of horror throughout Europe and America. But the Chinese have none to take their part. What we call civilization is arrayed against them. Innocent or guilty, they are to be swept away in promiscuous slaughter. The soldiers who have been guilty of these cruelties are our allies. Our own troops must march side by side with them, and witness their atrocities without interference. We trust that our own flag will not be disgraced by the active participation of our troops in these bloody outrages, and that even those who have been preaching the doctrine of doing evil that good may come in the Philippines, will shrink from the consequences of their principles when they see to what they lead in China. If we must fight, let us not fight like savages. If we must go to war to defend our imperilled citizens, let us carry it on like civilized men, and not in the spirit and not with the methods of the barbarians whom we are to slay.

The Japanese, it may be said, are heathens, and the Russians only half-civilized. But are they doing anything more than the German Emperor has called on his soldiers to do? Is there any other way to make the name of Germany so felt in China that for a thousand years to come China shall never dare even to look askance at a German? The *Evening Post's* correspondent in Berlin comments mournfully on the *Verrohung des Volkes*. Since the days of Jena and Austerlitz, one journal declares, Germany has not been, morally speaking, at so low a pass, so devoid of genuine Christian spirit. But the press generally comments on the Chinese troubles with brutal cynicism. "Not the question of right or wrong, not the provocations suffered by the Chinese—to a great extent from the Germans—are discussed." What will benefit Germany is the important matter, and the missionary work in China is denounced as detrimental to Germany's material interests, and calculated to embroil the Powers for a cause which has no concrete value. We cannot call the Germans uncivilized, and we must act with them now. But if a warning against entangling alliances were needed by our people, they have only to consider the policy in which they must participate.

We need not fear to be disgraced by the conduct of the British forces, or by the spirit of the British Government, we hope and believe. Yet an Englishman who represents the dominant influences, Prof. Edward Dicey, declares himself in favor of advancing British interests everywhere, at the cost of annexation and at the risk of war. The only qualification he admits "is that the country we desire to annex or take under our protection, the claims we choose to assert, and the cause we decide to espouse, should be calculated to confer a tangible advantage upon the British Empire." Are the people of America prepared to ally themselves with Powers governed by this principle? Can the cause of civilization and Christianity be advanced by governments or men actuated by such motives and animated by the passions which they inevitably arouse? No! for it is the end and essence of civilization to repress such passions and to subordinate such motives to more generous ones; and those who glorify war and conquest in the name of civilization are its deadliest enemies.

THE STATE OF INDIA.

The submission of the Indian budget to Parliament was the occasion for a statement of conditions which will be at present of world-wide interest. We may preface the summary which we shall give of the facts disclosed by this statement, and of the debate which it called forth, with the cheering comment that the drought in India appears to be at last ended, so that the destitution will at least not be aggravated. In this connection we may mention the coincidence, to which the Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, drew attention, between the fall of rain in India and the height of the Nile flood in Egypt. The Meteorological Department has discovered that, for the last twenty years, when the Nile flood has been low, there has been a failure of rain in India. Last year the flood was one of the lowest on record, and the failure of the monsoon was exceptionally bad. This year the Nile flood was normal, which inspired the hope that the monsoon, although delayed, would be satisfactory, as it seems to have proved. Of course, rain does not feed the starving, or create the draught cattle on which Indian agriculture depends; but it inspires hope, and enables those who are responsible for the lives of millions of destitute people and their future welfare to calculate what will be required, and to adjust their preparations with comparative accuracy to the coming exigencies.

Before referring to the facts presented by Lord George Hamilton, we may mention the debate which a proposed amendment to his budget brought out. A private member, apparently from the most humane motives, offered an amendment providing that the British Government should make a grant of £5,000,000 out-right to the Government of India. The considerations in favor of such an amendment are too obvious to need mention, and even the *Times* editorially criticised the Ministry for refusing to accept it. It was unwise, the *Times* said, "to put forth the Imperial Government in the character of Mr. Gradgrind." As for one of Mr. Balfour's arguments, we cannot regard it as very weighty. The Government was running behind, he declared, on account of the South African war, spending, perhaps, £80,000,000 or £100,000,000 for that purpose, and it could not undertake the additional burden of contributing to famine relief in India. That is a much more substantial argument against war than against the relief of suffering, and the taxpayers who had unwillingly to help pay for slaughtering human beings might fairly insist that those who favored that policy ought to be willing to be taxed to save human life. The main argument, and on the whole we incline to think a conclusive one, is found in the demoralizing tendency of committing the British Government to the policy of helping that of India to support its charitable enterprises. Such a policy would seriously discourage charitable subscriptions by private individuals, who would justly argue that if they were to be taxed for such purposes, they could not make additional donations to enterprises for which the Government assumed the responsibility. Were the exigency extreme, even this argument might be overcome, but the facts show that the emergency is not overwhelming.

In the first place, in spite of the fact that within two years the expenditures of the Indian Government for famine reach the great figure of $65,000,000, the provisions made for calamities were so liberal that a deficit has not been created until the current year, when it will amount to some $4,000,000. The Indian Government proposes to borrow £3,000,000, which will presumptively carry it through the present trouble. The debt of India, it should be observed, exclusive of that incurred for public works of a remunerative character, is not large. It amounts, all told, to about £212,000,000, against which there are assets estimated at £182,000,000. The net indebtedness of India, therefore, after these disastrous years, is but £30,000,000, and the additional amount would be a slight additional burden. Moreover, the Indian revenue has decreased so little as to make it probable that a favorable budget can be soon presented. The total trade of India is not only greater this year than last, but greater than the average for the last five years. The imports have fallen off, but not so much as the exports have been enlarged. A remarkable fact is the heavy importation of gold, amounting to nearly Rx. 9,500,000 last year, while the Government was obliged to buy silver to the amount of £1,900,000

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in order to increase the rupee circulation. As the Indian Government has on hand in London £1,500,000 in gold, together with a reserve of £7,000,000 in India, it is in position to maintain the stability of the currency. Contrary to some assertions, the remission of land-rent has been liberal, amounting to about £3,400,000. In spite of the famine, the ratio of mortality has been low, being very excessive in only one province, where for 100 years famine had been unknown, and where preparation for it had never been thought necessary.

As had been done on other occasions, Lord George Hamilton pointed out that the difficulty of the situation lay not in the lack of food, but in its distribution, and in the destruction of the cattle on which the industry of the people depends. Hence the immense value of private contributions administered by individual benevolence. Not that the officers of the Government have shown themselves lacking in humanity. On the contrary, they appear to have labored with really magnificent devotion; but their numbers are entirely insufficient. In the worst famine ever before known the area covered was 275,000 square miles; this year it is 420,000. In that famine 52,000,000 of people were affected; this year the number is 62,000,000. In the last drought, on January 1, there were 636,000 people on relief works; this year on that date there were 2,750,000. On July 14 in the former year the number in receipt of relief was 3,300,000; this year it was 6,100,000. Advances to native governments have been £2,436,000, and to individuals £1,100,000. No demand has been refused, Lord George Hamilton says; wherever it has seemed possible to save human life there has been no hesitation because of the expense. We cannot refrain from expressing admiration of the manner in which the overwhelming demands on the Indian Government have been met by its officers; and we find in their splendid, and we may fairly say successful, efforts an additional reason why the benevolent people of this country should continue to render aid which is so reasonably asked, so appreciatively received, and so effectively applied. *Bis dat qui cito dat.*

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COMPARATIVE HISTORY.

PARIS, July 30, 1900.

The very worst place for a learned convention is a great city. The worst possible time for it is the middle of summer, and the worst imaginable condition for its success is the presence at the same time of a vast counter-attraction, which throws all the ordinary life of the place out of gear. All these circumstances were combined against the second International Congress of Comparative History, which met at Paris during the week July 23 to 26. Add to all these that, for ten days before, Paris had been suffering from the most intense heat ever known there, and that this heat continued without intermission, day or night, during the week of the Congress, and one gains a sufficiently depressing idea of the chances of usefulness for such a gathering.

The plan of an international congress of historians seems to have originated with M. de Maulde de la Clavière, a gentleman of leisure, who secured the coöperation of a few of the best-known persons in the various departments covered by the scheme. The President was M. Gaston Boissier, Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy, the venerable writer upon the period of late Roman and early Christian history. At the head of the several sections into which the Congress was divided were such men as Henri Houssaye (general history and diplomacy); Glasson (institutions and law); Levasseur (social economics); Leroy-Beaulieu (religious affairs); Gaston Paris (literary history); and Saint-Saëns (history of music). This enumeration of the sections, to which should be added two others, on the history of science and of the arts of design, shows the vast scope of the material to be considered. The use of the phrase "Comparative History" still further indicates the purpose of the originators to include in this one comprehensive survey the whole activity of the human mind and the whole field of organized human society.

The preliminary announcements carried out even more fully this vastness of conception. In some sections an attempt was made to indicate specific lines of investigation, but even in these cases willingness was expressed to receive papers upon any related subject. As regards the range of material admissible to the proceedings of the Congress, therefore, everything pointed to the largest possible participation. The conditions of membership were arranged for on a similar scale of liberality. A local committee from each country was given the function of proposing members at twenty francs each to the central committee at Paris, and invitations were sent to the Government and leading educational institutions of the several countries to send delegates. The Chairman of the American Committee was Mr. James Gustavus Whiteley of Baltimore. The other members were Charles F. Adams, Edward Eggleston, Chief Justice Fuller, Cardinal Gibbons, W. Wirt Henry, George F. Hoar, C. E. Norton, Albert Shaw, George P. Wetmore, and Woodrow Wilson.

The result of this system of inviting membership in the Congress was that about eight hundred persons paid their subscriptions, thus providing the tidy sum of about 15,000 francs for publishing the proceedings. Each member was required to register in one section, but could receive the proceedings of any other section on payment of an additional ten francs. Of these 800 "members," not more than 200 were present at Paris. Hardly a person prominent in the "new school" of history in France, of which M. G. Monod would have been, perhaps, the best representative, was either seen or heard at the Congress. A partial explanation may be that some of these gentlemen were occupied with the incessant examinations which make the month of July a burden to the Academic world of Paris; but this can hardly account for the almost entire absence of the men who would have been the chief attraction to the Academic visitor. As to nationalities, so far as one could gather from the fragmentary and untrustworthy programmes, hardly a single German or Englishman or American was present, although a considerable number from these countries had paid their subscriptions. On the other hand, so large a representation came from the eastern parts of Europe that a good half of the papers read in the section of general history and diplomacy were by Hungarians or Rumanians, and these chiefly upon topics relating to those countries. The utter lack of "editing" in the programme may be shown by the fact that between these Danubian studies were interspersed articles on the private life of the Friso-Batavians by a French consul at Rotterdam, on the coronation of Henry of Luxembourg by an Italian Minister at Lisbon, and on the use of French in documents relating to foreign affairs by a delegate of the Swedish Government. Several papers were read in the absence of their authors by a Secretary of the Congress, who galloped through them with the single purpose of saving time. Indeed, all the readers seemed impressed with the vital importance of getting through as soon as possible without the least regard to whether they were understood or not.

Experience has shown what ordinary sense might have divined beforehand, that so far as "papers" at a learned convention are concerned, the only hope of success is in the most careful editing of the programme. Each session must have some distinct character, and this character must be given it chiefly by the lead of some recognized authority. There must be more papers offered than can be read, or specialists must be sought who will take the trouble to read for the sake of the common good. It is this difficulty in preparing programmes that has led many thoughtful scholars to vote the whole idea of conventions a hopeless nuisance. The impression made at Paris was that everything offered had been taken. No single session had any definite character, and one had to skip about from section to section to get any result whatever. Of the work of the Congress as a whole, no programme, even for a single day, was attempted. Only one or two sections tried to print their programmes, and these were frequently changed at the last moment. The others posted meagre written orders of the day. The section for religious affairs sat on two days only.

A judgment as to the value of the papers contributed will be possible only after they shall have been printed. From the few specimens your correspondent was able to hear, it may safely be predicted that they will not mark an epoch in the development of historical science. But it long since became a maxim among scholars that the "papers" are in any case the least important element of learned conventions. The real value of such occasions lies in the opportunity of meeting one's colleagues and comparing notes in the intimate association of the smoking-room or the piazza. On this, the social side, the managers of the Paris Congress did what they knew how to do. They arranged for two evening receptions during the Congress, one by M. E. Senart of the Institute, and one by Prince Roland Bonaparte, and invitations were given for a third, some days after adjournment, by the President of the Chamber of Deputies. The Congress was invited to a "lunch" at the Hôtel de Ville by the Municipal Council of Paris. One day was wholly given up to an excursion to the Château of Chantilly. All of these were,

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however, purely official occasions. No attempt was made to make the members of the Congress acquainted with each other, or to go beyond the strictest limits of French official courtesy. There was no social centre, such as we should expect to find in some hotel or club—in a word, the personal element was entirely disregarded.

The sentiment which prompted this undertaking, and the energy of the gentlemen who had it in hand, deserve hearty appreciation. It may, however, fairly be questioned whether an international enterprise from which the scholars of all leading countries, including the one which plays the host, prefer to buy themselves off at twenty francs, is really worth continuing. The question of the Rumanians in Hungary will get a handsome advertisement, but further direct results are not at present in sight. E. E.

RECENT RESEARCH IN HOMERIC TOPOGRAPHY.

FREIBURG IM BREISGAU, July 29, 1900.

It was not granted to Schliemann to witness the completion of the excavations at Hissarlik. With the exception of a corner on the south side of the mound which he held to be a part of the construction erected in the fourth century by Lysimachus, the discoverer of Troy failed to lay bare the massive escarped walls of the Homeric city, which now move the admiration of the visitor. Had the trench which Schliemann dug at the outset directly through the mound only cut deeper, the discovery of the outer line of walls would not have been reserved for Professor Dörpfeld, who, with the assistance furnished in 1893 by Mrs. Schliemann, and in the following year by the German Emperor, was enabled to put the finishing touch to the investigation of the hill at Hissarlik. During the last excavations superintended by Schliemann in person (in 1890), the discovery of Mycenæan vases, and of a part of a building of the Mycenæan period, now known to belong to the Homeric city, awakened doubts in the mind of the veteran explorer as to the correctness of his identification of the "second" ruined city with the citadel of Priam, a city that we now know to be at least a thousand years older than the Trojan war. The final report dealing with the latest excavations will appear next winter in a work entitled 'Troja und Ilios,' and will contain, apart from Dörpfeld's own contributions to the position of the nine or ten buried cities, the archæological researches of his co-workers, Winnefeld, Schmidt, Brückner, Götze, and Wilberg, with regard to the earlier as well as the later finds.

As I sit in the barrack occupied during so many campaigns by the great explorer of Hissarlik, I am reminded of another field of Homeric exploration begun by Schliemann and taken up afresh by his successor at Troy. The last act in the search for the acropolis of Priam is concluded. The great hillocks left by Schliemann and Dörpfeld at Hissarlik will probably not be disturbed for many years. Meanwhile the centre of archæological interest has shifted from the Iliad to the Odyssey, and the topography of the later epic is being examined anew in the light of a novel theory recently put forward by the Director of the German Institute at Athens. It was the good fortune of the writer to be present at some of the recent explorations, the aim of which was the location of the palace of Ulysses.

When one turns from the Iliad, with its sharply outlined description of the Trojan plain and of Ilion itself, to the indistinct setting of the scene of the Odyssey, we seem transplanted from places actually traversed by the poet to a region whose reality is only less hazy than the fairy isle of the Phæacians. Is not the Odyssey the mere fabric of the poet's vision, and Ithaca the faintly defined scene of the story of Penelope's constancy, of the insolence of her suitors, and of the return of her long-absent lord? This is the belief of many scholars at the present day, and so Hercher argued nearly forty years ago. Only "antiquarian hallucination," exclaimed the German skeptic, "can equate the Homeric topography with the actual topography of the island of Ithaca." But Hercher's skepticism denied even the reality of Troy, and his actual researches in Ithaca were confined chiefly to the isthmus near the bay of Vathy and to Mount Aëtos, where early in the century Gell had placed the scene of the Odyssey. On this peak, which crowns the narrow isthmus separating the northern from the southern part of the island, a long line of explorers from Gell to Schliemann sought for the palace of Ulysses. But, apart from various topographical reasons, the height of Aëtos (380 metres) is ill-adapted for the abode of a Homeric prince; and all the pottery found there is Greek, not Mycenæan.

As early as 1805, Leake proposed to locate the home of Ulysses much further to the north—at the end of the bay of Polis, and nearly opposite the tiny island Daskalio. This, the current view, has received the support of such distinguished scholars as Bursian, Lolling, and Partsch, who is the author of the latest monograph on the subject (in the ninety-fifth supplementary part of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1889).

Into the details of the controversy it is not my purpose to enter. No one will now venture to dispute the conclusion of Professor Dörpfeld, who, in pronouncing against the Mycenæan character of the remains on Mount Aëtos, has effectually disposed of one of the two sites in question. Nor, according to the same unrivalled student of Mycenæan building, does the case stand better with the other theory. Thanks to the liberality of a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Goekoop, excavations were conducted this spring near the Bay of Polis. The archæological evidence here, too, speaks with no uncertain voice. No one of the hills likely to be made the seat of a Mycenæan palace contains any trace of walls or of pottery of the archaic period. Where, then, if they existed in reality, are the halls of Ulysses, nay, where is Homer's Ἰθάκη? Is the Ithaca of to-day not the Ἰθάκη of the poet?

To this question Prof. Dörpfeld returns the answer: Homer's Ἰθάκη is Leucadia, and the palace of Ulysses, if remains exist, must be sought in no other of the Ionian islands. Through his courtesy I am enabled to present a brief statement of the arguments that have led Prof. Dörpfeld to this conclusion—a conclusion that cannot fail to awaken at least the hostility of surprise. In enumerating the various contentions of Prof. Dörpfeld, I refrain intentionally from all criticism.

(1.) In the attempt to locate the Homeric Ἰθάκη it is an error to leave Leucadia out of consideration on the ground that Strabo (10.2.8) declares it to have become an island at the time of its occupation by the Corinthians (about 600 B. C.); and, granting that the Corinthians did cut through the isthmus between Leucadia and Acarnania, such a transformation of nature would no more make Leucadia into an "island" than the cutting of the isthmus of Corinth has made an "island" of the Peloponnese. But, apart from this, geological evidence shows that Leucadia always was an island, and that the present passage (500 to 1,000 metres wide), which is now rapidly closing up, despite the channel made during the English occupation—a channel which, we may add, the Greeks have long promised to renew—existed from an immemorial period. From the time of Homer to the sixth century B. C., there existed no definite knowledge with reference to the position of the various islands enumerated by Homer as forming the kingdom of Ulysses. Errors thus naturally arose, and Leucadia received its present name from the λευκὰς πέτρη mentioned by Homer (ω 11) and famed in antiquity as the scene of Sappho's death-leap, while the present Ithaca received the name of the Homeric Ἰθάκη in consequence of the belief that Leucadia had not been an island in the Homeric period. According to Dörpfeld's view, Same or Samos was the Homeric name of the Ithaca of to-day, and Doulichion is Cephalonia, a name not mentioned in the epic. Zacynthus is of course Zante. In confirmation of this localization of the four chief islands ruled by Ulysses is the observation made by travellers in Elis, who, on looking out upon the Ionian island, see them naturally in the following order: Leucadia, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Zante; and in the "Hymn to Apollo," l. 428, from the same point of view, the poet mentions first the "lofty mountain" of Ἰθάκη, then Doulichion, next Same, and finally "woody Zacynthus."

(2.) Homer describes Ἰθάκη as χθαμαλὴ παντυπερτάτη πρὸς ζόφον, while the other islands are ἄνευθε πρὸς Ἠῶ τ' Ἠέλιόν τε. It is significant that Strabo interpreted this to mean that the island of Ulysses lay "near the mainland" and "farthest to the north." The word ζόφος, which has caused no end of difficulty, refers not to the west but to the north and west or the northwest. It is a striking circumstance, as Partsch has shown, that there exists among the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands a confusion with regard to the points of the compass. Peasants in Ithaca have been heard to misname north and south and north and west; the north side of the lagoon of S. Mauro is called *banda di ponente* in the report of a Venetian admiral cruising in Ionian waters in the fifteenth century; Bondelmonte says that the journey from Corfu to Leucadia by way of Paxos proceeds in an easterly direction; and in Corfu a deme in the north is called Epizephyrii, and one in the south bears the name Apiliotæ. However we may account for it, the fact of this strange orientation remains; and it may reach back to a very early period. The passage to the west, to Sicily, was often in historical times not direct but to the north by way of Leucadia. In Homer, Hermes leads the souls of the dead to Hades by way of Oceanus and the λευκὰς πέτρη.

(3.) One part of the flocks of Ulysses grazes on Ἰθάκη, another feeds upon the ἀκτὴ ἠπείροιο ("promontory of the mainland"). It is natural to assume that they were separated only by a narrow passage such as intervenes between Leucadia and

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Acarnania. The distance from Ithaca to the mainland is three hours by steamer.

(4.) In α 171 Telemachus asks Athene, who has appeared to him in the guise of Mentor: "How did the sailors bring thee, for I do not think that thou camest on foot" —surely a senseless question on the part of the "prudent" son of Ulysses unless there actually existed a possibility of coming on foot, viz., along the mainland and then by ferry across the narrow strait, which Dörpfeld takes to be the Ῥεῖθρον.

(5.) The Ῥεῖθρον was situated at the foot of "woody Neïon," which is generally taken to be a part of Neriton, the chief mountain of Ἰθάκη. Now Pliny expressly says that Neritos was a mountain in Leucadia, which was thence called Neritis.

(6.) Between Ἰθάκη and Samos, Homer places the tiny island Asteris, where the suitors lay in wait for Telemachus with the purpose of slaying him upon his return. This island, he says, is distinguished by having a double harbor (ἀμφίδυμοι λιμένες). The ancients doubted the existence of Asteris, and Schliemann thought it had completely disappeared. Gell found it in Daskalio, an islet in the sound between Cephalonia and Ithaca. This is out of the question, since Daskalio has no such harbor. According to Dörpfeld, everything becomes clear if Leucadia and Ἰθάκη are one; and I can attest from personal observation that Arkoudi, a small island between Leucadia and Ithaca (μέσση ἀλί, δ 844), does possess a remarkable double harbor on the east side, shaped something like an inverted T. Here vessels can lie sheltered now from the north, now from the south wind.

The visit that I made to Leucadia in company with Professor Dörpfeld was chiefly confined to the search for ruins of a Mycenæan palace in the neighborhood of the deep bay on the east side, latitude 38 degrees 42 seconds. On the western side of this beautiful sheet of water were found two sets of ruins. The first, more directly opposite the mouth and distant about a mile from it, is certainly Hellenic, but further to the south, on an eminence rising perhaps half a mile from the bay, are the remains of a stronghold that may be of the Mycenæan age. The pottery on the surface was, however, of the Greek type. Here Prof. Dörpfeld proposes to excavate at the expense of Mr. Goekoop, and here he thinks to find the home of Ulysses. And even if this quest should prove fruitless, his belief in the correctness of his theory is so strong that he will search for promising localities still further to the south near Katocharion.

On the southeast side of Leucadia is a small bay bearing the suggestive name Συβῶτα, which Prof. Dörpfeld thinks may possibly have a chance connection with the swineherd Eumæus, who was the first to greet his master after he had been carried to his native island by the Phæacians. An examination of the inlet in question does not disclose any close resemblance to the harbor of Phorkys with its enclosing rocky headlands; nor would the nymphs have had a comfortable time of it in the neighboring cave, into which I scrambled with no little difficulty. But Professor Dörpfeld does not, of course, rest his theory on the identity of the Συβῶτα and Phorkys harbors; the peasants tell of a larger cave further along on the south shore, which is indented with numerous bays. Here future examination will be made, and here even the cave of the Naiads, which the mere student of poetry would be content to leave as the creation of the poet's fancy, may appear to gladden the heart of the Homeric topographer.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

BOUTROUX'S PASCAL.—I.

PARIS, July 26, 1900.

It is a difficult task to write an essay on Pascal. It has been undertaken by M. Émile Boutroux, a member of the French Institute, for Hachette's valuable collection of "Les Grands Écrivains Français." Among our great writers, Pascal holds a high and almost intangible place. He is not only a model of style, one of the creators of that fine language of the seventeenth century which marks the highest point in the development of French literature; he is as great in the world of thought as in the world of style—his name goes with those of Descartes, Malebranche, Nicole. He is a philosopher, and his attempt to reconcile human reason with religion will lend a perpetual interest to his famous 'Pensées.'

Blaise Pascal was born at Clermont-Ferrand on the 19th of June, 1623. He belonged to an old family of Auvergne. His father was royal *conseiller en élection* for Bas-Auvergne in Clermont, and afterwards second president in the *cour des aides*. Of four children which he had, three survived, Gilberte, who became Madame Périer; Blaise, and Jacqueline. Pascal's father was a good mathematician, and directed in all its details the education of his son Blaise. He taught him Greek and Latin only after he had reached the age of twelve; the study of mathematics was to begin only at fifteen. To his great surprise, he found his son, at the age of twelve, making geometrical figures, and occupied with the demonstration of the 32d proposition in the first book of Euclid. Young Pascal rediscovered the demonstration; his father made him a present of the 'Elements of Euclid,' which he read in his hours of recreation. The intelligent boy was surrounded with intelligent men, among whom was Father Mersenne, who delivered weekly lectures which were the origin of the Academy of Sciences.

An event which powerfully impressed the young mind of Pascal was the publication of Descartes's 'Philosophical Essays.' The introduction to it is the famous "Discours de la Méthode," which may be compared, for its importance, to Bacon's 'Novum Organum.' The Cartesian method, founded on the direct observation of facts, psychological as well as material, became the method of the seventeenth century. Descartes did not admit any external authority; he confronted man directly with his own reason and his own conscience. To this may be added that the "Discours de la Méthode" is a monument of the French language; it has a solidity, an elevation, and a clearness which have never been surpassed.

Pascal was not sixteen years old when he conceived the idea of an "Essay on Conic Sections." He wrote it in 1639 and 1640, but did not publish it, because he was indifferent to reputation, but Mersenne sent an extract of it to Descartes. At the age of eighteen he invented a mathematical machine which may be considered the mother of all the modern machines of the same kind.

Pascal and his father Étienne were almost free thinkers; they experienced religion after an accident which happened to the father in January, 1646, when he fell on the ice. He was taken care of by two pious gentlemen, who made the father and the son acquainted with the works of Jansen, Arnauld, and Saint-Cyran. The spirit of Port-Royal entered into them through these works, which were to them a sort of revelation. Port-Royal taught them that original sin had corrupted man and had made him a slave of his depravity. If man wished to be converted, he had to choose between God and the world, he had to add a supernatural life to his natural life, he had even to renounce a vain love of science, since science spoke only to man's intelligence, and had nothing to say about the inner truth. The teachings of Jansen and his disciples were much in accordance with Pascal's character. He was one of those whom the idea of duty seduces, and who cannot give themselves to it by halves. Jacqueline, sister of Blaise, was converted to the same ideas. She was only twenty years old, and was fond of the world; she abandoned it, and gave herself entirely up to God.

Pascal's health had never been good; he overworked himself; he suffered from many discomforts, and the lower part of his body was almost paralyzed. We have only one good portrait of him; it was taken from life by Domat—a mere drawing in red pencil, on the cover of a book. It gives the idea of extreme delicacy; the eyes are unnaturally large, the forehead is immense, the nose aquiline, and, though the mouth is almost sensual, the expression of the face in general is very pure and idealistic. It was during the period of his conversion and of his religious ardor that he composed the "Prayer to God for a good use of sickness." It is very curious and characteristic; it describes sickness as the means of conversion and sanctification. In 1647 Pascal went to Paris to consult doctors, and became acquainted with M. Singlin, who was the confessor of the *solitaires* and the religious women of Port-Royal. Jacqueline accompanied her brother, and made several visits to the house of Port-Royal; she was very well received by Mother Angélique Arnauld, the abbess; she did not, however, enter the convent, as her father was opposed to it.

Pascal never interrupted his physical researches. In 1641, he was preoccupied with the question of the vacuum, though he had not heard of Torricelli's experiments on the subject. Galileo had demonstrated that air was heavy. Torricelli had seen in that fact the explanation of the rise of the mercury in the vacuum of the barometer. Pascal endeavored to show experimentally that the mercury rose and fell according to the depth of the atmosphere above it, and he gave directions to his brother-in-law, who made the experiment in the Puy-de-Dôme. The old theory, which declared that nature abhors a vacuum, fell to the ground. Pascal repeated the experiment at the Tour St. Jacques, in Paris, and it was proved that the mercury rises and falls according to altitude. Every schoolboy knows now what was then unknown. Curiously enough, this scientific success occasioned Pascal's first quarrel with the Jesuits; they accused him unjustly of having robbed Torricelli of his invention.

Étienne Pascal died on September 24, 1651. His loss was keenly felt by his children. It inclined Blaise even more to a religious life and to religious ideas. He set forth his

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ideas on death in a fine letter which he wrote to M. and Madame Périer. Jacqueline, after the loss of her father, entered Port-Royal; she was only twenty-six years old. Her profession took place in July, 1653. Thereupon, by a singular contrast, Pascal gave himself up again to the world; but contrasts are the law of the most exceptional natures. Pascal became for a time almost futile; he wrote verses for a lady (they were found in a château near Poitiers at Fontenay-le-Comte):

"De ces beaux lieux jeune et charmante hôtesse," etc.

He paid court in Auvergne in 1652 and 1653 to a lady who was a *femme savante*, and was called the Sappho of the province. The Chevalier de Méré (who left some opuscules now known only to bibliophiles) told him there was great profundity in the world, that there was much for the philosopher to learn in it. It was in that period that Pascal wrote a curious essay, 'Discours sur les Passions de l'Amour,' which Victor Cousin found in a manuscript at the Abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés. We must not attribute too much importance to writings which were, so to speak, the wanderings of a great mind; but Pascal, even in these dissertations, was always himself, and could not help giving to all subjects a certain originality and a great elevation.

The years 1653-54 are those during which Pascal made his principal mathematical discoveries, which I will not analyze here. Towards the end of 1653, as he had attained the age of thirty, he experienced for a second time the feelings which had once turned him towards the severities of Jansenism. From this time, we see Pascal constantly struggling against the instincts of nature, against over-confidence in himself, against pride and the desire to be approved by the world. He experienced grace, but not without a painful effort and a struggle. He was now in constant communication with his sister Jacqueline, with *ces messieurs*, as they were called, of Port-Royal. After listening to a sermon by M. Singlin, on November 23, 1654, he fell into a sort of trance, and thought he felt directly the presence of God; he had a kind of revelation. All doubts were expelled from his mind; he was in presence of the living God. There was no more reason for arguing, for discussing; inspiration had taken the place of reason.

Port-Royal, the modest abbey near Versailles, was one of the oldest convents of the order of Cistercians. It was founded in the thirteenth century. At the beginning of the seventeenth the Abbess was a young child, eleven years old, Angélique Arnauld; as she grew older she undertook to reform the Abbey. She shut it out completely from the world, surrounding it with strong walls. Her parents came to see her; she received them in the *parloir*, and explained to them her resolve. They remonstrated in vain; she was determined to separate the Abbey from the influences of the outside world. In 1626 the community transported itself to Paris; in 1636 the Director was Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé of Saint-Cyran, a friend of Jansen. He had larger views than Mother Angélique. He aimed at nothing less than a complete reform of the Church, and looked upon Port-Royal as the centre of this regeneration. The strict morals of Port-Royal were to be opposed to the easy and worldly morality of the Jesuits. Sainte-Beuve has told in his admirable work on Port-Royal the story of the first Jansenists. We can easily imagine how Pascal was drawn into the holy circle.

Correspondence.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BLIND TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Respected Friend: The magnitude of the wrong done to the people of the United States by the Democratic party, when it forced the silver question into the present campaign, becomes more and more apparent the more it is considered. Altogether because of this piece of folly, the American voters who wish to protest against the policy of Imperialism, are deprived of an opportunity to do so effectively. It is obvious that when two distinct issues must be voted for or against together, the people are practically prevented from expressing their judgments, by ballot, in regard to either of them. No one can vote for McKinley, for the sake of stable money, without strengthening the cause of Imperialism; and no one can vote for Bryan, for the sake of preserving our free institutions, without strengthening the cause of an unstable standard of values. If those in control of the Kansas City Convention had been on the payroll of the Imperialists, they could not have done more to insure the success of the most portentous aggregation of Jingoism and capitalistic effrontery that the world has ever seen. Even from the standpoint of Populism, the present importance of the slumbering silver cause must seem relatively insignificant, in view of the aggressive activity and persistent mendacity of those who are using their official vantage-ground to insidiously supplant a constitutional republican form of government by an oligarchic plutocracy.

The silver issue was voted on four years ago, and the decision was very decidedly against it, and if a majority of the people are anxious to reverse that judgment now, they are keeping wonderfully quiet about it, to say the least. There is every reason to suppose that the number of those who would feel greatly aggrieved by having the silver question simply shelved for the time being, compared with those who will be deterred from voting the ticket because of a feeling that they may be helping to afflict the country with another financial convulsion, is not greater than as one to a hundred. And, if such is the case, it is plain that the silver issue has become merely a tonic for Imperialism.

Since the last Presidential campaign, Imperialism has unexpectedly and accidentally become a vital issue, distinctly as a nursling of the present Administration. And, manifestly, the Democratic party, which is now our only effective reliance as an opposition party, owes it to the nation to open the way for a definite and emphatic decision of this supremely important and far-reaching issue. If the Democratic platform had said, in effect: "Although the theoretical attitude in regard to silver assumed by the party four years ago is unchanged, yet, in order that the more pressing issue of Imperialism may be met, squarely and definitely, by the people, the party is hereby pledged, if successful, to abstain, during the next four years, from all legislation that would disturb the gold standard," and further made it plain that there was no juggling with words in regard to Imperialism, there would now be a fair prospect that the snake in the bosom of the nation, which is threatening to strangle all there is of republicanism in our system of government, would be cast off for ever. Surely the matter is of sufficient importance to warrant the trouble of rectifying the mistake even yet. In no way could the leaders of the Democratic party so thoroughly demonstrate their patriotism and their manhood as by rising above false pride and the fear of ridicule, and reconstructing their too hasty work, on which so much that is of inestimable value may depend. A mere declaration that this or that is the paramount issue does not measure up to the importance of the one supreme issue. The question of Imperialism cannot be met squarely by the people unless the silver issue is practically eliminated from this campaign.

If Bryan should be elected on the present platform (and his election is extremely doubtful only on account of the platform), he could not possibly feel that he was the choice of the people in regard to either one or both of the issues; but only that he is in office as the result of a sort of blind gamble, on the part of the people, on the choice of two evils. From his own point of view he could not regard it as a victory either for silver or for freedom, and the uncertainty in regard to what they are really voting for, if they vote for him, will dampen the interest of the people, and result in losing tens of thousands of votes merely for want of a clear issue. Oh, for an Isaiah to proclaim for us that "the leaders of this people cause them to err, and they that are led of them are destroyed."

Freeman Stewart.

Philadelphia, 8th mo., 10th, 1900.

MALARIAL VIEWS OF POLITICS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of August 2, I find a somewhat agitated communication from Louisville, Ky., from which I beg leave to repeat the following passage:

"Mr. Bryan is also pledged against 'government by injunction'—that is, against any efficient repression of riots. The unruly elements would soon feel who is holding the reins, and anarchy, like that which raged in Pittsburgh in 1877, or at Chicago in 1894, would spread from the Aroostook to the Golden Gate."

In the first sentence quoted, the delightful logic should be noted by which to be "against 'government by injunction'" is made the equivalent of being "against *any* efficient repression of riots." Upon which I remark that on this logic you yourself, sir, are clearly "against" the repression of riots, for you have opposed "government by injunction," and very forcibly. Such arguments are not reasonable—they are malarial; and malaria, especially the political malaria of Kentucky, is just what should be kept out of the present discussion. Let us not have the strenuosity on one side of this campaign matched by lugubriosity on the other. The old classic hymn,

"My thoughts on dreadful subjects tend,"

may have done good theologic service in its time, but hardly furnishes inspiration for a political campaign. The dread forebodings, given with an easy comprehensiveness of divination to which Ithuriel's spear

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"were but a wand," of what will certainly happen if Mr. Bryan is elected, recalls the doleful assurance of an old-time politician in Massachusetts, who solemnly pledged his word that if a certain candidate were elected Governor, "hell would take place in ten minutes." The dreaded candidate was elected, but there was no noticeable irruption from the infernal regions; the world did not come to an end then, nor will it with the election of Mr. Bryan, an event which now seems not so improbable but that we may as well prepare ourselves to accept it if necessary. The predictions of cataclysmal disasters to occur in case the other fellows win, are old and well-worn features of political campaigns.

In your appended comment you say, "We propose to do what we can to prevent this people from giving its seal of approbation to the present misruler of its destinies." This is a wise and patriotic purpose, involving the sum of existing political virtues and obligations; and if it can be gained in any other way than by the election of Mr. Bryan, will you not kindly explain to your perplexed but not discouraged readers, what that other way is, that they may strive with you to attain it? "Lead kindly light, amidst the encircling gloom," and show the better way.

FRANCIS FISHER BROWNE.

CHICAGO, August 8, 1900.

[Our way is very simple—to refrain from voting for McKinley, and to persuade as many other people as possible to do so.—ED. NATION.]

SILVER DOLLAR CIRCULATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your editorial comment (No. 1832) on the money of the country, in an article under the head "What Bryan Has Done and May Do," you say (in relation to the number of silver dollars): "Large quantities are not generally within his reach. Nearly all are absorbed in the circulation of the country." Now I see by a Treasury statement in to-day's paper the following, viz.: "Of the half-billion of silver dollars . . . 430,341,739 are in the Treasury, . . . and only 66,429,476 in circulation." Did you mean that the great bulk of them were in circulation through the means of "silver certificates"?

It seems to me a strange thing that, after all the claims which the Republicans have made for the credit of having established the country on a firm gold basis, they should fall back on a flaw in the act by which this desirable condition was accomplished to show the very act itself was not to be relied on. Shall we ever be on a really firm basis as long as any portion of the 460,000,000 legal tenders are in existence?

Yours truly, JAMES B. NOURSE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 11, 1900.

[Of course we meant that the bulk of the silver dollars in the Treasury could not be used by the Secretary for the purpose named, since they are held for the redemption of outstanding silver certificates. We shall *not* be on a firm basis as long as Government legal-tender notes are in existence. A clear and strong statement of the reasons why we shall not, is contained in the late Professor Dunbar's article on "The Safety of Legal-Tender Paper" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.—ED. NATION.]

"NEWS-MAKING."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Theophrastus, in chapter viii. of his 'Characters,' has anticipated some features of our modern journalism, as shown especially in recent 'news' from China. I quote from a translation of 1715:

"News-making properly consists in relating things which have neither been said nor done, but are invented by the newsmaker and put together at his will."

A reflection on the next page is less "up to date": "I have often wondered what this sort of men could possibly propose to themselves, by inventing and spreading such groundless stories."

They had no telegraph then, and no printing-press. Mr. Sheng doubtless finds his account, or thinks he does, in this "inventing and "spreading"; and his colaborers, the brilliant young foreign correspondents, have their salaries to earn. Like A. Ward's banknote engravers, "they make money, and good money too"—probably including an extra tip for each intellectual triumph in the way of an unusual sensation. F. M. B.

S. BETHLEHEM, PA.

THILLY AND WUNDT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent number of your journal the reviewer of my 'Introduction to Ethics' states that my classification of ethical systems, as presented in the table on page 128, is substantially borrowed from Wundt. In order that the reader may judge for himself, will you kindly permit me to give Wundt's scheme, and then append my own? I quote from the English translation of Wundt's 'Ethics' (vol. ii., p. 164):

"We thus obtain the following classification: I. *Authoritative Ethical Systems.* These may be divided into *politically* and *religiously* heteronomous systems. They either avoid taking any account of ends, or affiliate with some one of the autonomous systems as regards the question of ends. II. *Autonomous Ethical Systems.* (1.) *Eudæmonism*, under the form of (a) Individual Eudæmonism or Egoism; (b) Universal Eudæmonism or Utilitarianism. (2.) *Evolutionism*, under the form of (a) Individual Evolutionism; (b) Universal Evolutionism."

Here is my scheme: "What makes an act right or wrong? The *Theological School* says: The will of God; The *Common Sense School:* Conscience; The *Teleological School:* The effect of the act. What is the effect? Pleasure, says *Hedonism;* Perfection, says *Energism.* Whose Pleasure? Pleasure of self, says *Egoistic Hedonism;* Pleasure of others, says *Altruistic Hedonism.* Whose Perfection? Perfection of self, says *Egoistic Energism;* Perfection of others, says *Altruistic Energism.* The *Theologico-Teleological School* says: An act is good because God wills it, and God wills it because of its effects."

I also request the reader to compare the classifications given in the following works with Wundt's and my own: Bain's 'Mental and Moral Science,' 1868; Lecky's 'History of European Morals,' 1869; Sidgwick's 'Methods of Ethics,' 1874; Jhering's 'Der Zweck im Recht,' 1877; Paulsen's 'System der Ethik,' 1889; Seth's 'A Study of Ethical Principles,' 1894; Hyslop's 'Elements of Ethics,' 1895; Dorner's 'Das menschliche Handeln,' 1895; Külpe's 'Einleitung in die Philosophie,' 1895; Lipps's 'Ethische Grundfragen,' 1899. A perusal of these books will show that there is little difference in the classifications of the different authors, and that modern Ethics has reached a certain degree of fixity with respect to its divisions. My own scheme resembles the schemes of all of these writers in some points, and differs from them in others. So does Wundt's. Mine is no more like Wundt's than Wundt's is like Bain's and Sidgwick's and Jhering's. It is to be noted that not one of the writers mentioned in the above list gives credit to anybody. And there is no reason why he should; no more than why a modern biologist should give credit for using the current zoölogical classifications.

Yours respectfully, FRANK THILLY.

COLUMBIA, MO., August 9, 1900.

CREDIT TO WHOM CREDIT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your No. 1832, in your paragraph concerning Mr. Moorfield Storey's 'Life of Charles Sumner,' in my "American Statesmen Series," you say that Mr. Storey has not mentioned the name of Mr. E. L. Pierce, though relying throughout upon the elaborate biography written by that gentleman. It seemed to me, and may seem to others, that this was an intimation that Mr. Storey had gathered his material in Mr. Pierce's field, and had not been polite enough to say, "Thank you." Now, Mr. Storey was in friendly relations with Mr. Pierce, and it was to him that Mr. Pierce said: "You will find all the facts in my book"; therefore, a suggestion of discourtesy is very painful to Mr. Storey, and it becomes my duty to say that if any error has been committed, it has been wholly my own.

I, as editor, advised Mr. Storey that it was not worth while, nor required by literary usage, that he should insert a prefatory note whereof the sole purpose and contents would be to say that he had sought aid at the great reservoir which Mr. Pierce had conspicuously and laboriously prepared. Of course he had; if he had not, that fact would have demanded admission, to his own discredit. I may have been wrong, but I do not think that such obvious acknowledgments are required by literary courtesy. In all subjects, there are some authorities which all writers are assumed to use. Furthermore, I happen to have been so close to Mr. Storey in his preparation of this volume that I am fortunately able to say that, for all the matters of a public nature, concerning Sumner's statesmanship, Mr. Storey relied upon and used the works of Mr. Sumner very much more than he did the biography by Mr. Pierce. With the full historical introductions and the many letters to Mr. Sumner, embodied in the works, Mr. Storey was able to find the substantial and sufficient basis for his own views and treatment. His personal knowledge, also, of the latter part of Mr. Sumner's life was thorough and abundant for his needs. The originality and merit of his work would have been more apparent had I not been under the unfortunate necessity of greatly curtailing it in order to bring it within the rigid limits of my volumes. JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

Editor American Statesmen Series.

BOSTON, August 9, 1900.

[We are glad to find Mr. Storey ac-

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quitted of the omission advised by his chief—and ill advised, as we must hold. The general public cannot be assumed to know of the existence of "authorities which all writers are assumed to use." Notoriously, too, the epitome thus easily made may bring far greater pecuniary profit to the appropriator than did the laborious original to its author, who at least should have the credit of having opened the quarry to the public.—Ed. Nation.]

THE ORIGIN OF CHESS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The writer of a recent communication on "The Origin of Chess" (*Nation*, No. 1824, p. 457), says of that Indian romance, the 'Harshacarita' of Bāna, which is ascribed to the earlier half of the seventh century of our era, and in which occur some more or less evident allusions to chess: "It cannot be supposed, since the game is mentioned familiarly as being well known at that time, that chess was then a novelty, and the conclusion appears to be inevitable that the game existed by the middle of the sixth century at least."

This allegation, rendered into the idiom of the fortieth century in a treatise compiled by an investigator into the origin of either croquet, lawn tennis, polo, or euchre, or into the genesis of the electric telegraph, the sewing-machine, or the telephone (just where the writer is commenting on a work attributed to the nineteenth century), would read as follows: "It cannot be supposed, since the game [instrument] is mentioned as being well known at that time, that croquet [the telephone] was then a novelty, and the conclusion appears to be inevitable that the game [instrument] existed by the middle of the eighteenth century at least." It is proper enough, perhaps, in discussing the oldest known date of an art, or invention, or custom, or anything else, to conceive a period of probability antecedent to the period of certainty—a sort of preliminary what-might-have-been before the actual what-was—and your correspondent has evinced much modesty in limiting this permissible play of his fancy to merely a century, or less. But what shall we say of Dr. Duncan Forbes—author of various Oriental linguistic works of repute—who, in his 'History of Chess' (London, 1860), claims thirty or forty centuries as the proper duration of his "period of probability"? or of the erudite Spaniard, Don José Brunet y Bellet, a principal object of whose 'El Ajedrez' (Barcelona, 1890) is to demonstrate the Egyptian nativity of chess, who takes us back to the pyramid-builders of Memphis and the tomb-painters of Thebes? or of Capt. Hiram Cox, a writer on "The Burmah Game of Chess" (*Asiatic Researches*, vii., Calcutta, 1801, pp. 490-91), the flight of whose imagination is quite as extended as that which Dr. Forbes permits himself to enjoy? or of Mr. Eyles Irwin, a believer in the inventive spirit of the Chinese (*Irish Academy Transactions*, v., pp. 53-63), who insists upon antedating his facts to the extent of finding chess "on record two centuries before the Christian era"? or of his successor in the same remote field, Mr. H. F. W. Holt, who, in a valuable paper (*Asiatic Society Journal*, July, 1885), seems half inclined to go back, with the Chinese historical books, to B. C. 279, but who finally, with commendable self-sacrifice, concludes that "it is *probable, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary*, that it [chess] has been played, very much in its present form, from the time of the Tang dynasty, commencing in the seventh century"? It is hardly necessary to mention the multitude of minor compilers, like Mr. Francis Douce (*Archæologia*, xi., 1794, pp. 397-410), with his "immemorially known in Hindostan," or like the well-known chess practitioner, Mr. H. E. Bird ('Chess History,' London, 1893), who disdains such an un-English author as "Linde," and announces his patriotic determination to stand by Dr. Forbes, and to endorse "the existence of the game called the Chaturanga at the time stated by him." Even historians of the European game, finding it impossible to obtain any evidence whatever of the presence of chess north of the Mediterranean before the eleventh century, must likewise have their "period of probability"—so gentle and honest a man as Sir Frederic Madden (*Archæologia*, xxiv., 1832, pp. 203-91) stretching back 300 years in order to embrace such an interesting character as Charlemagne.

How are these varying claims to be met and reconciled? Where shall we draw the line in the case of such imaginative seekers after truth, who over-zealously carry their explorations even beyond and behind the truth? Writers on the early ages of chess—particularly, for some inexplicable reason, those who wield English pens—find it extraordinarily difficult to avoid this conjectural style of research. The very newest (English) historian of chess, whose labors are not yet completed, feeling the cold severity of modern criticism, protestingly cries out, with a groan quite audible to the attentive reader: "We *must*, however, sometimes indulge in a little reasoning by analogy!" and devotes himself assiduously to the revival of the oft-confuted fancies and fables of the "reasoning by analogy" school of chess historical investigation. As will be seen below, even some Oriental scholars of our own immediate day—of deservedly high standing—will not quite give up this baneful habit of the past. Why cannot investigators be content to tell us what they know, without adding to it what they guess?

I shall attempt to cite, in their order, the recent additions to our knowledge of the earliest years of chess history.

(1.) In 1878 Prof. Theodor Nöldeke of Strassburg—a noted Semitist, but distinguished as well for his familiarity with Pahlavī—published a German translation of the so-called 'Kārnāmak,' a Pahlavī text of some importance. It is this work to which, as your correspondent tells us, Dr. Nöldeke "assigns the date 590-628 A. D." To its interesting character, as containing an early mention of chess, your correspondent is, I believe, the first to call the attention of the English-reading public. Dr. Nöldeke styles his version the 'Geschichte des Artachshīr i Pāpākan,' being the story of Artaxerxes, son of Pāpak (Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, 1878, pp. 32-69, and as a *Separat-Abdruck*, 1879, the pagination being the same in both). The translator characterizes it as an historical romance (p. 23). It is, in fact, a fanciful account of the education and adventures of a Persian noble, or prince, very similar, in manner and matter, to those prose and metrical tales which abounded in the literatures of Europe during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries from Italy to Iceland—from the *romans* and *fabliaux* of the South to the spurious sagas (*skröksögur*) of the North. The very sentence which includes the word *catrang* (chess)—its solitary occurrence—might be paralleled from a score of the story's European congeners. The young prince has been confided by his father to Ardawan, the Iranian King, who seemingly took an immediate interest in him, and "ordered that he should accompany his own sons and knights to the chase and to the games of ball," which command the prince obeys, and soon excelled his comrades in those manly diversions. "With God's aid he became doughtier and more skilled than all of them in ball-play, in riding, in chess *(catrang)*, in hunting, and in other accomplishments." The footnote to this sentence (p. 39) says of the word "*catrang:* das ist natürlich das Original des regelrecht daraus umgebildeten arab. *shatranj*, wie es wieder, im Einklang mit alter Tradition, die indische Urform *caturanga* reflectiert." Dr. Nöldeke is something more than cautious in his ascription of a date to the 'Story of Artachshīr.' He says (p. 23): "Die *genaue* Bestimmung der Abfassungszeit ist nicht möglich; doch spricht Manches dafür, dass es *aus der letzten Zeit* der Sāssānidenherrschaft stammt, etwa aus der Zeit des Chosrau II. Parwēz (590-628 n. chr.)"—that is, some time during the reign of that monarch. The earliest known reference in literature to this Pahlavī tale—a very indistinct one, as Dr. Nöldeke explains—occurs before the eighth century, and the second about 815-16, while the first direct mention of it (pp. 24-25) is by Mas'ūdi, the Arabic historical encyclopædist, in 943-4. Not content with these conservative statements, he goes still further, and informs his readers (p. 27) that there is no available linguistic testimony to assist in determining the age of the composition, and continues: "Ich glaube kaum, dass auch die wenigen gründlicheren Kenner des Pehlewī im Stande sind, die sprachliche Entwickelung in der echten Pehlewī-Literatur mit einiger Sicherheit zu beobachten." But since the publication of his version Dr. Nöldeke would appear to feel even greater doubt about his suggested date, for he has recently spoken of it as "Die *ungefähre* Zeitbestimmung (590-628) für die Abfassung des 'Kārnāmak.'" Professor Jacobi of Bonn is apparently in accord with Dr. Nöldeke as to the age of the book. He considers that "the mention of chess in the 'Kārnāmak,' under a name which is a reversion to the Sanskrit *caturanga* [unter seinem auf das Sanskrit *caturanga* zurückgehenden Namen], is, *at the most*, fifty years older than its oldest Indian mention (in Bāna)"—that is to say, in the 'Harshacarita,' to which we shall shortly come.

A book written anywhere between 590 and 628 may at least be more properly spoken of as belonging to the seventh than to the sixth century. Therefore Dr. Van der Linde ('Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Schachspiels,' pp. 5, 6), with his inveterate but sometimes brusque good sense, gives the assigned date of the biographical *novella*, and then adds that it is thus, "let us say, from the seventh century." In truth, we have first to take it for granted, on what is expressly stated to be the slenderest evidence, that the 'Kārnāmak' was com-

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posed at some time between 590 and 628, and then to assume that the author wrote it precisely in the first (590-600) of the nearly four decades which make up the reign of Khosrau the Conqueror—a surmise in no wise susceptible of proof, hardly susceptible of probability. Having stretched our credulity thus taut, we are entitled to consider—somewhat in the English style of "reasoning"—that we *may have* succeeded in pushing back, with a certain amount of documentary aid, the authentic history of chess to a date earlier, by ten years or less, than the beginning of the seventh century. Beyond this, except on the wings of fancy, we cannot yet get.

(2.) In 1892, Dr. Nöldeke, with the same ability, described, in a section of his 'Persische Studien,' II. (Philosophical-Historical Proceedings of the Vienna Academy, CXXV., Abhandlung xii., pp. 20-26), another and briefer Pahlavī production, giving an account of the invention of the games of chess and nard (the oldest form of "tables," or backgammon). It had been previously edited, as one of four short legendary narrations in Pahlavī, by a native Parsī scholar at Bombay (1885), who had added to the text versions in English and Guajarati; while Dr. K. G. Salemann, director of the important Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, had printed at that city, in his 'Mittelpersische Studien' (1887), the text, accompanied by a German rendering. The narrative of the birth of the two ancient games differs slightly—though, so far as chess goes, not essentially—from the familiar Arabic accounts which we owe to Mas'ūdi (10th century) and Ibn Khallikān (13th century), both cited in detail by Van der Linde ('Geschichte des Schachspiels,' i., pp. 1-5). Dr. Nöldeke considers the Pahlavī story to be somewhat earlier than Mas'ūdi's, and not improbably the source of Firdausi's fabulous tale in the 'Shahnama.'

(3.) In 1896 appeared an essay by Prof. Hermann Jacobi of Bonn, "Ueber zwei ältere Erwähnungen des Schachspiels in der Sanskrit-Litteratur" (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft—ZDMG*, as it is usually cited by the Germans—Vol. L., ii.; pp. 227-33). These "two mentions of chess" were found in the 'Haravijaya' of the Kashmīr poet, Ratnākara, one of the so-styled "artificial" or mannered epics, made up of fifty elaborate cantos, which was composed about the middle of the ninth century; and in the 'Kāvyalankāra' of another Kashmir poet, Rudrata, belonging to the same period. At the date of Dr. Jacobi's publication these were the earliest known allusions to chess in Indian literature. The first citation forms part of a single figurative strophe in which the poet refers, as it seems, to the game of chess, enumerating the "four wings" or members —footmen, horsemen, chariots, elephants—descriptively applied alike to the military and chess array. The reference has something of the obscurity of an Icelandic *kenning*. The second authority sets forth chess matter of a far more satisfactory character, and is especially interesting because we learn from it not only that the "knight's tour" was well understood in the homeland of chess 1,000 years ago, but also that, then as now, the knight's route over the chess-board was employed as a medium or setting for metrical puzzles precisely in the modern manner.

(4.) Early in 1897 Prof. Edward B. Cowell of Cambridge, and Mr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian at the Indian Office in London, produced (*Oriental Translation Fund*, N. S. II.), a version of the 'Harshacarita'—"the earliest attempt at historical romance in Indian literature." This tale by Bāna was first brought to the notice of European students by our compatriot, Dr. Fitzedward Hall—so long and so pleasantly known to the readers of the *Nation*—in the introduction to his edition of Subandhu's 'Vāsavadattā' (one of the kāvyas, or artificial court epics, like the already-cited 'Haravijaya'), published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 116 (Calcutta, 1859). Dr. Hall discovered three more or less perfect MSS. The story has since become, in India, a favorite subject for treatment. There have been editions of the text at Jummu (Kashmīr) in 1879, Calcutta in 1876 and 1883, and Bombay in 1892, and it has been illustrated by a volume of English notes (Bombay, 1882), while an annotated excerpt was printed at Benares in 1883. In the notes to the London version no historical importance was attached to the passage or passages containing allusions to chess.

(5.) In 1897 also (*Athenæum*, July 24), Prof. A. A. Macdonell of Oxford published his note on "The Earliest Mention of Chess in Sanskrit Literature." I did not allude to this in my previous communication (*Nation*, No. 1823), nor to his subsequent essay on 'The Origin and Early History of Chess,' for the same reason that I refrained from referring to Professor Jacobi's model paper, namely, because I was calling attention generally to some standard works on chess history, and especially to the subject of chess in Hebrew literature. Professor Macdonell first condenses, in a clearly worded paragraph, the 1896 paper of Professor Jacobi, and then turns his attention to the allusion which he had observed in the 'Harshacarita.' "The passage," he says, "which is found on p. 55 of Vidyāsāgara's edition (Calcutta, 1876), and which contains a series of puns, is thus rendered by Professor Cowell, in his recently published translation of the 'Harshacarita' (p. 65): 'Under this monarch . . . only bees (*satpada*) quarrel in collecting dews (dues); the only feet cut off are those in metre; only chess-boards (*astapada*) teach the positions of the four members (*caturanga*).' In his poetical romance 'Kadambari' ("Bombay Sanscrit Series," p. 88, l. 15), Bāna perhaps also refers to chess with the compound *astāpada-vyāpāra*, 'practice at the chess-board,' though it is interpreted as 'game at dice' in the smaller St. Peterbsurg dictionary." As to the date of the 'Harshacarita,' it is known that it was written under the patronage of King Harshavardhan, who ruled over Northern India from 606 to 648. In his most useful 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' just issued, Professor Macdonell has an excellent but too brief note on the origin and migration of chess (p. 421), and likewise gives a fuller account of Bāna's 'Harshacarita,' accompanied by some translated paragraphs, but with no further reference to the chess-passage including the words *caturanga* and *astāpada* (chess-board).

(6.) In January, 1898, Professor Macdonell prints in the Asiatic Society's *Journal* (pp. 117-141) his dissertation—to which I have alluded above, and which richly merits separate publication—on "The Origin and Early History of Chess." In this the citation from the 'Harshacarita' is repeated, and the remark added that "this reference is particularly clear, as both the game and the board are named together." No additional passages from Bāna's writings are quoted. Excellent as the essay is in almost every respect, its interest is somewhat marred by the author's inability to resist the temptation of occasional recourse to conjectural methods. Thus, at the end of his comment on the 'Harshacarita' reference, he anticipates the "inevitable conclusion" of your correspondent: "Occurring in the middle of an enumeration of notions familiar to the Indian reader, it justifies the conclusion that chess was well known in the beginning of the seventh century. The game must, therefore, have undoubtedly existed in India at least by the middle of the sixth century A. D." Such "reasoning by analogy" would have enabled Swift to cross the Irish Channel by steamer, and Dr. Johnson to run up from Lichfield to London by rail. Professor Macdonell would find it difficult to furnish any more trustworthy basis than his own surmise (p. 131) for the assertion that "It [chess] *may have* become known in Spain under the Saracen ruler Hakem II. (961-76)"—which is merely an inference from the fact that Hakem was a lover and collector of books, and *may have* had Arabic chess-codices in his library, which *may have* communicated a knowledge of chess to the people of Spain. Again, he says of the (original or two-handed) *caturanga:* "It is *quite possible, pace* Dr. [Van der] Linde, that dice was combined with the primitive form of chess"—an allegation which at present it would be *quite impossible* to substantiate satisfactorily. His pages likewise show some bibliographical oversights, such as the use of "Linde" for Van der Linde (we do not usually say "Werf" for Van der Werf, nor even "Hagen" for Von der Hagen), 'Heydebrand's Bibliography of Chess,' and so on. There are also indications of unfamiliarity with the technical terminology of the games he treats, as when he uses "piece" for "pawn" (p. 133), and, in the case of *nard* (p. 126, note), "squares" for "points"—but the Arabic word (*beit*=house) is the same in both games. Van der Linde's 'Geschichte' (1874), too, is abundantly cited, but no use is made of that author's 'Quellenstudien' (1881), a work in some sort supplementary to the earlier one. To Professor Macdonell's apparent ignorance of that volume is to be partly ascribed his extraordinary omission of any notice of the 'Kārnāmak'—the work which, so far as we now know, contains the most probable first mention of the game in any literature; for, while citing the account of the little Pahlavī chess-tractate by Dr. Nöldeke (1892), he shows no knowledge of the same savant's 'Geschichte des Artachshīr' issued fourteen years before. He would have found it duly chronicled—as we have stated—in the 'Quellenstudien' (pp. 5, 6). The allusion (p. 136, note) to Thomas Hyde, author of the 'Historia Shahiludii' (1694), as "the great Orientalist" is a deserved tribute to one who exhibited the same remarkable ability as Bodley's Librarian and as Oriental professor. Of all English writers on the antiquity of chess, Hyde was the most erudite and the least fanciful; hence Theodor Nöldeke ('Persische Studien,' ii., p. 25) characterizes him as "Der, nicht bloss für seine Zeit, wunderbar gelehrt und dabei *sehr verständig urtheilende* Hyde."

(7.) It was in 1898 also that Mr. F. W. Thom-

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as, one of the translators of the 'Harshacarita,' published a note on "The Indian Game of Chess" (*ZDMG*, LII., ii., pp. 271-2). He begins by calling attention to Professor Jacobi's paper, and then examines the more recently noted Indian allusions to the game, citing, first of all, the above-mentioned 'Vāsavadattā' of Subandhu—a contemporary of Bāna—whose popular tale was "probably written," says Professor Macdonell, "quite at the beginning of the seventh century" ('Sanskrit Literature,' p. 332). The passage pointed out (Fitzedward Hall's ed., Calcutta, 1859, p. 284) is a comparison of frogs leaping up in the fields, during the rainy season, to the chess-men jumping up on the squares of the chess-boards. Thereupon Mr. Thomas cites an additional sentence from the 'Harshacarita,' in which he finds lurking a reference to chess. It is strongly figurative, speaking of a person "contracting a frown which . . . darkened the chess-board of his forehead"—a simile suggested, it is thought, by the "furrowed lines" of the brow ('Harshacarita,' transl. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 6, note). The expressions, "black squares," "mottled squares of a chess-board" (p. 272), denote ignorance of the fact that the old Asiatic chess-boards were never parti-colored, the squares being indicated simply by black lines (that is, outlined). The custom of coloring the squares originated in Spain. Perhaps I may add that the author, being English, does not succeed in closing his communication without taking his readers into the realm of hypothesis: "We find, therefore, that Professor Jacobi's interesting researches may be extended *at least* as far back as the first half of the seventh century, and *it may be permissible to conjecture* that the invention of chess belongs to a considerably earlier period."

(8.) Later in 1898 (*ZDMG*, LII., p. 512) Prof. Ernst Windisch, editor of that invaluable German Oriental journal, comments in a brief note, "Zu The Indian Game of Chess," on the statements of Macdonnell and Thomas in regard to the 'Harshacarita,' qualifying them somewhat—"da man das *astāpada* [=a board having eight squares in each row] auch zu andern Brettspielen benutzt haben kann," and of the citations from Bāna declares that they are "allerdings unsicher." He regards as more trustworthy the one from the 'Vāsavadattā:' "Die deutlichste Beziehung auf das Schachspiel scheint unter den neuen Stellen die von Thomas aus der 'Vāsavadattā' angeführt zu haben."

To sum up, the most ancient documentary indications of the existence of chess date from about the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; the possibly earliest and certainly least dubious mention of it occurring in a (Persian) biographical romance styled the 'Kārnāmak." The dialect of this tale is Middle-Persian, disguised by the medium in which it is written—a cryptogamic and otherwise bizarre form of orthographic expression known as Pahlavī. Neither the Sanskrit nor any other literature belonging to the native land of chess affords us, as yet, any assuredly earlier evidence of the game's existence. The oldest Arabic utterances relative to chess have been gathered with great diligence by the Arabist Gildemeister, and are published by Van der Linde ('Quellenstudien,' pp. 6-12). None of them are earlier than the eighth century, and of those cited from that period not one is wholly free from doubt, either in respect to its character or to the exactness of its date. It is needless to say that these three contiguous regions—Northwestern India, Persia, and Arabia—witnessed the earliest developments of the game.

I trust that it will not be considered inappropriate if I allude here to the later literature of ultra-Indian chess. The treatment of it, when compared with the essays that appeared in the earlier years of the century, exhibits a marked improvement. Mr. H. G. Hollingworth's "Short Sketch of the Chinese Game of Chess" (North China Asiatic Society's *Journal*, N. S., iii., pp. 107-112, Shanghai, 1866) is full and accurate, if lacking a little in lucidity. He gives two games, one of twenty-one and the other of forty-seven moves. "The Chinese Game of Chess as compared with that practised by Western Nations," by Mr. K. Himly, which appeared in the same journal (N. S., vi., pp. 105-121, 1871), is replete with literary and philological interest, but the author, after dallying with still earlier dates, declares that "we must be content with fixing the period of the invention before the year 100 A. D." (that is, if it were invented in China, which he is far from asserting). Of greater technical interest than these is a third paper in the Shanghai *Journal* (N. S., xxiii., pp. 248-284, 1889), by Mr. Z. Volpicelli, entitled "Chinese Chess." It is profusely illustrated with diagrams, and reproduces a number of end games. The explanations are intelligible and precise. Somewhat earlier than the last-named article is Mr. H. F. W. Holt's "Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess" (Asiatic Society's *Journal*, XVIII., iii., pp. 352-365, London, 1885), a compilation of interest, although the writer sets out with the erroneous statement (p. 353) that "Van der Linde, in his exhaustive work 'Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels,' argues that Chaturanga is always used of an army, and never of a game, by the old Indian poets." To the author's opinions on the chronology of the Chinese game I have already alluded. In regard to the chess of Japan, there is no information more recent—so far as I have been able to ascertain—than that contained in the brief but admirable account of Mr. V. Holtz, "Das Japanische Schachspiel," in the *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ost-Asien's* (5tes Heft, pp. 10-12, Tokio, 1874). It gives representations of the board of eighty-one squares and of the men, furnishes concise but clear notes on the moves of the figures and the rules of the game, and records an actually played game of forty-one moves. W. F.

Notes.

The Smithsonian Institution has undertaken to receive pledges of subscription for the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature resolved on at a conference held last June in London. This catalogue is to begin with the new century, will contain both an author and a subject-index, and will comprise the following subjects: Mathematics, Mechanics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology (along with Terrestrial Magnetism), Mineralogy (with Petrology and Crystallography), Geology, Geography (Mathematical and Physical), Palæontology, General Biology, Botany, Zoölogy, Human Anatomy, Physical Anthropology, Physiology (including Experimental Psychology, Pharmacology, and Experimental Pathology), and Bacteriology. To each of the seventeen subjects at least one volume will be devoted, and publication will take place in four quarterly groups as soon as possible after January 1, etc. The price fixed is a pound a volume, or $85 for the set, and the enterprise must look to a three years' support on these terms from not less than 300 subscribers. Ninety sets have been guaranteed for Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland; and forty-five, it is hoped, may be ordered from the United States. September 15 is the latest date at which this country should respond. All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, Prof. S. P. Langley.

Charles Scribner's Sons' list of autumn publications includes 'Military Reminiscences of the Civil War,' by the late Gen. J. D. Cox; 'Recollections of a Missionary in the Great West,' by Cyrus Townsend Brady; 'Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy,' by Augustus C. Buell; 'A History of the American Slave Trade,' by John R. Spears; 'A Literary History of America,' by Prof. Barrett Wendell; 'Oliver Cromwell,' by Theodore Roosevelt; 'The Referendum in America,' by Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer; 'The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds,' by Sir Walter Armstrong; 'Prince Charles Edward,' by Andrew Lang; 'A General History of Europe, 300-1900,' by Profs. Oliver J. Thatcher and Ferdinand Schwill; 'Napoleon at the Height of His Power,' by Imbert de Saint-Amand; 'A History of Education,' by Thomas Davidson; in Professor Saintsbury's "Periods of European Literature," 'The Transition Period,' by G. Gregory Smith; 'Italian Cities,' by E. H. and E. W. Blashfield, in two volumes; 'Songs and Song Writers,' by Henry T. Finck; 'The World of the Great Forest,' by Paul du Chaillu; 'Mooswa, and Other Animals,' by W. A. Fraser; 'Overheard in a Garden,' by Oliver Herford, with his own illustrations; 'A Garden of Simples,' sketches and essays by Martha Bockée Flint; 'The Ways of Men,' by Eliot Gregory; 'Oriental Rugs,' by John Kimberly Mumford, with colored and other illustrations; 'Songs of Two, and Other Verses,' by Arthur Sherburne Hardy; 'Later Poems,' by Julia C. R. Dorr; 'The Toiling of Felix, and Other Poems,' by Henry van Dyke; 'The Jack of All Trades,' and 'The Outdoor Handy Book,' by Daniel C. Beard; 'Fairies and Folk of Ireland,' by William Henry Frost; Mr. Barrie's 'Tommy and Grizel,' and 'The Works of Tobias Smollett,' with an essay by W. E. Henley.

Early in October, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, will issue a 'Study of James Martineau,' by the Rev. W. A. Jackson.

Doubleday, Page & Co.'s fall announcements include 'The Harriman Expedition to Alaska,' illustrated; 'Through the First Antarctic Night,' by Frederick A. Cook, M.D., a member of the *Belgica* expedition; 'Newest England' (Australia and New Zealand), by Henry D. Lloyd; 'Our Land and Land Policy,' by Henry George; 'Life of Henry George,' by his son and namesake; a translation, by Lionel Strachey, of Stryienski's 'Memoirs of Countess Potocka'; 'William Cotton Oswell,' the friend of Livingstone, by W. Edward Oswell; 'The Shakspere Country,' by John Leyland; a new Shakspere text edited by Prof. Mark H. Liddell in forty volumes; 'A Woman Tender-

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foot,' by Mrs. Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson; 'The Mushroom Book,' by Nina L. Marshall; 'The Furniture of Our Forefathers,' by Esther Singleton; 'Old Songs for Young America,' pictures by B. Ostertag, music arranged by Clarence Forsyth; and 'Songs of the Old South,' by Howard Weeden.

Prof. Henry A. Beers's 'English Romanticism of the 19th Century,' which will be published by Henry Holt & Co., is expected to be ready by the spring of 1901.

R. H. Russell announces 'Down South,' photographs of negro life by Rudolf Eickemeyer, jr., with an introduction by Joel Chandler Harris; and 'In and Out of the Nursery,' by the same expert artist, with verses and songs by Eva Eickemeyer Rowland.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, announce 'In South Africa with Buller,' by Capt. George Clarke Musgrave, and the eighth volume ('Addresses and Essays on Subjects of History, Education, and Government') of the works of Edward Everett Hale.

Crane & Co., Topeka, Kansas, have in preparation a biography of John Brown, by William Elsey Connelley of that city, and 'John Brown Papers,' edited by Col. Richard J. Hinton and Mr. Connelley, who find their historical material in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society and other large collections, besides reprinting "all the important papers written by John Brown."

'North Carolina Mountain Sketches,' by Mary Nelson Carter, and 'Northern Georgia Sketches,' by Will N. Harben, are in the press of A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Knackfuss's 'Dürer,' already left behind in the German series of "Monographs on Artists"—valuable as pictorial memoranda as well as for biography and criticism—now appears in English (New York: Lemcke & Buechner) and should be in demand.

In 'The Cradle of the Republic' (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson) President Tyler of William and Mary College has condensed into a small volume the principal facts connected with Jamestown and the James River, from the landing of the first colonists in 1607 to the removal of the seat of government ninety years later. An interesting chapter is devoted to the origin and history of noteworthy places along the river. We observe that the author discards the etymology which derives Newport News from Capt. Christopher Newport, who commanded the first expedition, and thinks that it was originally New Port Newce, so named by two brothers, Thomas and William Newce of Port Newce, County Cork, Ireland, who were early settlers on the James.

The origin of golf, the histories of the oldest Scotch and English clubs, and a part humorous, part serious medley of facts and fiction in connection with the game, are dealt with in the third edition of 'Golf: A Royal and Ancient Game,' edited and brought up to date by Robert Clark (Macmillan). Handsomely gotten up and profusely illustrated, this book is a most acceptable addition to the literature of the sport.

It is not often that a book written to give household advice on matters of health fulfils its function so well as the small volume entitled 'Care of the Child in Health,' by Nathan Oppenheim, M.D. (Macmillan). Doubtless every reader might find reason to disagree with the author on various points, but no one could deny that earnestness, intelligence, knowledge, and high aims have gone into the writing of the book. We would especially recommend the chapters on Habits, The Relation of Parents to Children, and Education, to the young woman who finds herself plunged of a sudden from society life into the duties of motherhood.

A natural curiosity on the part of Senator Lodge to ascertain the resources of the Library of Congress on the subject of the "theory of colonization, government of dependencies, protectorates," and related topics, led to the compilation of a 'List of Books (with References to Periodicals),' by Mr. A. P. C. Griffin, chief division of bibliography, just issued from the Government Printing Office. Let no one imagine that President McKinley will sleep with this under his pillow, whatever use the Massachusetts Senator may make of it. Mr. Griffin shows how the student may attack it.

In the August Bulletin of the Boston Public Library will be found the first accurate reprint of John Adams's Notes on the trial of the British soldiers for the "Boston Massacre" of 1770, from the MS. now in the Library's possession.

We have received from the Helman-Taylor Co. of Cleveland convenient binders for the 'Cumulative Index,' together with an index to the index for 1899.

The principal feature of the Quarterly Statement for July of the Palestine Exploration Fund is Dr. Bliss's illustrated report on the excavations at Tell ej-Judeideh. In the three spring months he removed some 125,000 cubic feet of earth and stones (the earth being passed through a sieve and each stone examined), and then restored the hill to its former condition, as it was arable ground cultivated by the villagers. Extensive remains of a Roman villa were discovered, and there were numerous pottery finds, including thirty-seven jar-handles with royal stamps, making, with those found in other places, sixty-one of these interesting remains of a period from 800 to 500 B. C. Their use is still a matter of conjecture, as no whole jar has been found, but they may have been intended to contain products, as oil, wine, flour, or grain, representing the tributes furnished in kind to the royal storehouses by the chief cities of the kingdom. A native has suggested that the vases to which they belonged were "simply officially stamped measures of capacity." Mr. Macalister describes the series of rock-cut tombs in the so-called Valley of Hinnom and their incised and painted inscriptions, while Mr. Gray Hill reports an attempt to explore the precipitous eastern shore of the Dead Sea in a small sailboat. He calls attention to the fact that the surface of the Sea has risen considerably of late years; and as there has been no unusual rainfall to account for it, he suggests the possibility that some volcanic action is at work raising its bed. A thorough exploration may now be expected, as a steamer some eighty feet long has been conveyed on a truck drawn by mules from Jaffa to Jericho, and is probably now launched on the Sea. Dr. Schick tells of several artificial but significant changes in the surface of the ground about Jerusalem through extensive building operations, valleys being filled and hills removed. In view of these modern changes, it is wise to be cautious in judging of the ancient city from what one sees to-day, as so many topographers do.

The *Annales de Géographie* for July contains a description of the geological structure of the valley of the Seine and its relations to the hydrography of the region, by M. G. F. Dollfus, while M. P. Dupuy traces the physical history of Paris from the earliest historic times, showing especially the dominant influence of the changes in the course of the river upon its growth. The other articles relate to the collection of maps and charts of France and its colonies in the Exposition, and to the glacial period in the Balkan peninsula.

M. Georges Goyau's essay in contemporary history, "Patriotisme et Humanitarisme," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July 15, is an interesting survey of the movements, since the Revolution, especially in France and Switzerland, towards disarmament and universal peace and human brotherhood. The effect of the essay upon the reader, however, is rather depressing, owing to the writer's irritating tone of reserved irony. There was too much violence or utopianism in the writings and speeches of the leaders in the movements, who were most of them actuated by the best of motives. Many of the names that appear in these pages belong to men of whom France need never be ashamed, and who, at most, went to excess in those generous impulses which have long been recognized as a national trait of the French people. The same number of the *Revue* contains a masterly article on the Roman poet Martial, by M. Gaston Boissier, from which the professional scholar as well as the general reader will derive pleasure and information.

In the August *Magazine of Art* (Cassell), M. Léonce Bénédite, Director of the Luxembourg, gives an historical sketch of the history of that gallery, "an antechamber to the Louvre," with unhackneyed pictorial examples of its treasures. The bequest of drawings by Burne-Jones to the British Museum is illustrated. Mr. Spielmann's second paper on Chaucer portraits deals with Nos. 4 to 7, none of which are regarded as trustworthy memorials of the poet's appearance. The work of an artist, Australian by adoption, but English by birth, Mr. Charles Douglas Richardson, is described, with the aid of photography, by Ernest S. Smillie. Its chief interest lies in its twofold expression, Mr. Richardson being addicted equally to brushwork and to plastic composition. This combination is rarer than one might expect it to be.

Dr. S. C. Chandler of Cambridge, as is well known, invented and set up in 1884 a transit instrument of a novel design, to which he gave the name of Almucantar. An account of a similar instrument recently made for the University Observatory at Durham, England, is contributed by Prof. R. A. Sampson to the current number of the *Monthly Notices* of the Royal Astronomical Society. His experience convinces him that the Almucantar possesses many advantages in build, in mode of use, and in precision over the transit circle, although its range is somewhat more restricted.

The report of her Majesty's Astronomer at the Cape of Good Hope for 1899 has recently been published. It appears that two measuring machines devised by Dr. David Gill have been in constant use throughout the year, and that 103 plates, containing 38,785 stars, have been measured in both coördinates in each of two reversed positions of the plates, and all the standard stars

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on each plate have been similarly measured by two observers. The total number of plates now definitely measured is 126, and the conversion of the measures into rectangular coördinates has been executed for 102 plates. For 87 of these, the work is completely examined and the final copy prepared for the press.

—Mr. Albert Matthews contributes to the Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachuetts for January-April, 1898, just published, a remarkably learned and interesting paper on the euphemistic terms "hired man" and "help." It has usually been held, though not without dissent, that both terms arose from the disinclination of Americans either to call themselves anybody's "servants" or to submit to being so called. Mr. Matthews shows that the history of the usage in question is much more complex than any one has hitherto suspected. "Servant" is nowadays restricted, in common speech, to a man or woman employed in domestic service. In the colonial period, however, the word had a much wider signification; it was applied to laborers, mechanics, schoolmasters, articled students in a lawyer's office, and so on, as well as to domestics, and it included freemen as well as slaves. No odium whatever attached to the term. There were three distinct classes of servants: slaves, "indented servants," and "hired servants." The distinction between the last two classes is convincingly brought out by Mr. Matthews in a multitude of quotations. In addition, there were "hired freemen"—that is, ordinary free citizens, not belonging to the technical category of servants, who had temporarily "hired themselves out." This last class, Mr. Matthews supposes, were originally meant when "hired men" were spoken of. Thus, "hired man" was a merely descriptive term and in no sense a euphemism. With the growth of democratic feeling, however, the dislike now felt for the word "servant" manifested itself with constantly increasing force. The colonial system of white servitude gradually disappeared, and, there being but two great classes, slaves and freemen, the terms "hired man," "hired woman," etc., came to be used as euphemistic names for free servants, and have continued as survivals despite the abolition of slavery. Of course all these processes were gradual, and their history is admirably pictured in Mr. Matthews's illustrative quotations. Whether the term "hired man" was brought over from England, where it was in use as early as the fourteenth century, or whether it arose independently in this country, is still an open question. Mr. Matthews has not found it in any of the thirteen colonies till 1697, but he has discovered it in a law passed in Barbados in 1652.

—The history of "help" in the sense of "domestic servant" is even more curious. In colonial times the word was applied to any one called in to render temporary assistance, as opposed to a regular servant or employee. There was no euphemism about it. Thus, it was in common use for a transient "supply" or assistant in the ministry, and, in its application to labor of other kinds, it existed side by side with "servant" at a time when that word carried no odium. When, however, "servant" began to be looked at as a contemptuous or disgraceful appellation, "help" began, like "hired man," to lose its exact and purely descriptive sense, and to be employed as a euphemistic substitute. This usage, however, appears to have been somewhat local in its scope. The old quasi-technical meaning of "help"—that is, "temporary assistant"—was doubtless brought over from England, where "helps in the kitchen" are mentioned as early as 1596. Mr. Matthews deserves the thanks not only of students of lexicography, but of all who take an interest in the social history of America, for his scholarly monograph.

—The long set of the "Jesuit Relations" (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.) is now advancing by leaps and bounds to its conclusion. Vols. lxiii.-lxvi. comprise documents which relate to a space of forty-five years, 1667-1712; and although the first twenty years of this period have already been dealt with in part, the mere fact that the remaining twenty-five years can be disposed of so rapidly shows the dwindling of the material. Instead of official reports, the private letters of the missionaries supply the chief part of Jesuit records at the end of the seventeenth century. Appeals to the Governors of the province, which are rare fifty years earlier, become prominent, and there are traces during Frontenac's régime of friction between Church and State. While the dangers of life among the Indians have somewhat lessened since the early days, the discomforts and the risk to health are still the same. We have encountered nothing in the whole series which seems more pitiful than the epitome which Father François de Crepieul writes of his cross among the Montagnais. It begins: "The life of a Montagnais missionary is a long and slow martyrdom; is an almost continual practice of patience and of mortification; is a truly penitential and humiliating life, especially in the cabins and on journeys with the savages." This general statement is then supported by ample details of suffering which cannot for a moment be questioned—the suffering which comes not so much from artificial torture as from hunger, thirst, and outrageous filth. At the opening of the eighteenth century we meet with an instance of greater regard for the wants of the missionaries in a list of supplies furnished to the Jesuits who are settled among the Illinois. Prunes, Spanish wine, oil, flour, and spices, all in small quantities, are forwarded to the men whose fund of vital energy is fast being exhausted on the banks of the Mississippi. Another interesting bill of items is contained in volume lxv. It is a return of the revenues which the Canadian Jesuits possessed in 1701. At this time the order derived from New France only 3,540 livres a year. The greater part of the amount came from land rents in or about Quebec. The crown also contributed 7,215 livres, and investments at home added 4,000 more. Altogether, the budget seems very modest when the extent of the mission field is considered. One excellent feature of volume lxvi. is the long bibliographical note which Mr. Paltsits contributes regarding the 'Lettres Édifiantes' of the Jesuits.

—'The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company,' by Dr. George Bryce (Scribners), is a book which has been many years in preparation, and represents an intimate personal knowledge of the Northwest territories of Canada. Naturally it suggests comparison with 'The Great Company' of Mr. Beckles Willson, which we have already reviewed at some length. In one respect we consider neither work to be quite satisfactory, viz., in the matter of illustrations. Photographs of the scenery and animals of the Hudson's Bay region are not within easy reach of every one, and yet there must be a good many of them somewhere. Clear reproductions from photographs showing the character of the country and people, and of the animals in their haunts, would have been a strong feature, but neither Mr. Willson nor Dr. Bryce has made it a point to collect a mass of such material. For the rest, Dr. Bryce expands his narrative just at the moment where Mr. Willson grows concise. The best part of Mr. Willson's volume is that which deals with the origin of the Company and the early rivalry between French and English. He is less good after the Peace of Utrecht than before it. Dr. Bryce passes rapidly over the first stage, and concentrates his notice upon the operation of the Company since 1750. Accordingly the two works supplement each other more than they clash in rivalry. The field which Dr. Bryce rightly claims for his own is the last eighty years, since the amalgamation of all the fur interests of British North America. With the disappearance of such trading bodies as the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal, the X Y Company, and the Astor Fur Company of New York, the history of the Hudson's Bay Company loses the excitement which comes from acute conflict, and tends to become the record of commercial routine. But the element of adventure can never be eliminated from life in that region, and Dr. Bryce has done well to emphasize the importance of a period which has hitherto been noticed only in connection with Lord Selkirk, the cession of Manitoba to the Dominion of Canada, and the Riel risings. A classified bibliography of literature relating to the Northwest is furnished, and signs of original research are apparent in every chapter. Putting the books of Mr. Willson and Dr. Bryce together, we are now in a position to follow the origin, progress, and practical working of the Hudson's Bay Company.

—The oblivion that has overtaken Volapük does not dishearten the apostles of linguistic unity. M. Léon Bollack of Paris regards the present as a moment favorable to the propagation of universal peace and brotherhood through the medium of a brand-new "international practical language" which he has invented. The little "English" pamphlet in which his views are set forth is almost pathetically funny. It consists, in the main, of an attempted translation of an article published last December by M. Raoul de la Grasserie, in which that respectable philologist speaks rather favorably of "The Blue Language," as M. Bollack has christened his novel idiom (another name for it is "Bolak"). There are also certain testimonies from men of letters, and, finally, an appeal to the world for support. We need not discuss the ingenious futility of M. Bollack's plan. What lends interest to his pronunciamiento is the extraordinary "English" in which he, or one of his helpers, has clothed his (and M. de la Grasserie's) ideas. It is not M. Bollack's purpose to create a substitute for existent languages. On the contrary, we learn that the "endeavor of the universal language tending to the end of supplying the place of all others, through

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a new one quite perfect, expressing ideas and relations in an entirely adequate way, and keeping between themselves the same proportion as between the represented beings, supposing, consequently, the exact knowledge of classification of the beings and of the phenomena, a *desideratum* of the science, always pursued, but not near to be reached," is "somewhat utopistical." His design is rather to furnish a language "which, letting remain the native idiom of every one, would be the unique foreign language necessary to the common international wants." The facility of international comprehension that the Blue Language will foster, will, we are assured, "forcibly raise a Holy Communion of thoughts and of pacification among peoples dealing together." And finally—"Forward to the Fraternity, through the international idiom, through the language *color of heavens*, through the Blue Language!" It certainly takes a pair of spectacles *color of rose* to see such things in the air nowadays.

EDWARDS'S PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

Personal Recollections. By H. Sutherland Edwards. Cassell & Co. 1900. 8vo, pp. viii, 280.

This work might have been entitled 'Minor Recollections,' for it reads as if made up from what was left in the writer's note-books after compiling his earlier works. The gentleman who found the dictionary "excellent reading, though somewhat disconnected," might enjoy this volume; or he might not, for the dictionary's contents are at least solid in themselves, and set forth in order, whereas this is a thing of shreds and patches, a collection mainly of trifles light as air, and needs an index. The author skips serenely from grave to gay, from lively to severe, with a marked preference for the gay and lively, but with no exigent regard to association of topics or dates. An autobiography would have some continuity; but Mr. Edwards is no egotist, and keeps himself (except for the brief and rather trivial Carpathian idyl in chapter xv.) as much as possible in the background. He seems to be thinking of his material, and not of personal display; so-and-so was (or was not) a friend of his, and told a story or uttered a *mot* in his hearing—that is nearly all we get as to his works, ways, views, and experiences. He is not bumptious, as are some of his brethren; there is no assumption of being some great one, socially, politically, or otherwise. His tone—so far as he can be said to have one—is that of easy-going, matter-of-course, semi-journalistic comradeship; and he aims at items, with not too anxious an eye to their importance. He has known some eminences, as Verdi, Charles Reade, Thackeray, Dean Stanley, Browning; but he is not thereby puffed up, nor tempted for their sakes to neglect his every-day acquaintances. His frankness in owning that he never met Tennyson, and "cannot write a special chapter on orators," he has "heard so few," would disarm skepticism as to more improbable tales than he ventures to relate; and if he has no secrets of state to unveil and no new light to shed on events or characters, if his manner is haphazard and his disclosures far from momentous, he caters to a public not yet weary of the gossip of its own or any period.

Mr. Edwards's recollections begin in the later forties, and deal chiefly with London and Paris. His main interest was in his fellow-correspondents, in authors and musicians of various grades, and in matters theatrical; of lawyers, physicians, clergymen, statesmen, noblemen, men of science and of business, he has little to say. He is tender towards obscure oddities of the past, like him who, "being asked to state his qualifications for a certain post in a Government office, replied: 'I combine the fiercest invective with the wildest humor.'" He devotes eight pages to Vivier, the horn-blower, who called Napoleon III. "the most gentlemanly Emperor I know," and asked that monarch to come out on the balcony with him, that some of his creditors might see him in good company. This humorist blocked a street in St. Petersburg by blowing soap-bubbles, and another in Paris by exhibiting a calf on his balcony. "In an omnibus, when some grave old lady had just risen from her seat, he would assume an expression of utmost astonishment, and suddenly take from the place an egg"—for he was a prestidigitator, too. In another conveyance he assumed the madman, and drew a pistol, which proved to be of chocolate. One Bower, an English knight of the pen, had a still more advanced idea of humor, exceeding even that of Theodore Hook. On the Boulevard he pinched a strange lady's leg, and ran an old gentleman "along the street for a considerable distance by the breech of the trousers and the scruff of the neck." This man varied his amusements by a murder; but a brother of G. A. Sala, who stopped short of homicide, committed in the theatre a similar incredible assault upon Macready, running him up stairs from behind, and pretending to mistake him for some one else. Verbal outrages were more frequent, as from Oxenford and Jerrold, though the latter, the most brutal of all these jesters, made complaint of a published statement that his wit was "probably called caustic because it blackened everything it touched." The manners of that time are sometimes said to have been much finer than ours; on another side they were evidently much coarser. Mr. Edwards says that the clubs allowed a license of talk which would be impossible in similar circles now.

Less startling are his reminiscences of Pierre Dupont, who came to Paris with two songs, sold them, spent the proceeds, and returned to the South penniless, to be "looked upon in his native town with wonder and awe"; of Gustave Planche, whom a lady, on inviting him to dinner, prudently furnished with bath tickets, but who explained on arrival that he had been reading in the bath, so that his "hands did not come in contact with the water"; and of Frank Marshall, who turned "Macbeth" into an opera, and when the audience, after hearing his "Biorn," "shouted angrily for the author," appeared before them in green spectacles and "a huge knitted comforter." This was a quarrelsome person, who once bounced out of a party, and then sent inside to ask for a chair that he might wait on the pavement for his cab; and who attempted to refuse dinner to his own invited guests, on learning that he was nicknamed "the Boiled Ghost." Here, again, are the fine if somewhat unrestrained manners of the past.

Mr. Edwards tells us a good deal about the Mayhews, the Salas, and others more or less known to fame. He tries to rescue from oblivion the names of William North, who translated Lamartine and died by poison in New York, and Henry Clapp, who, though a teetotaller, was called "the introducer of Bohemianism into America." In Paris he met Horace Greeley, who (perhaps practising on the Briton's innocence) asked him what *pain* and *lait* meant, and assured him that the celebrated hat was never brushed. He has some interesting items about Tinsley, the publisher, and some censures on G. H. Lewes, who, he says, was among the first to recognize Thackeray's greatness. Thackeray he quotes as saying that Samuel Lover threw into his songs "the whole of his little soul," and condemning Madame Bovary as a "heartless, cold-blooded study of the downfall and degradation of a woman." On pp. 185-6 he cites two icy witticisms (and one unjust and pointless slur) by W. S. Gilbert. The London *Journal*, he says, once attempted too suddenly to raise its tone, and was assailed by letters "calling upon Charles Reade to 'shut up,' and requesting that Walter Scott be 'sacked,' and Pierce Egan reëngaged in his place"—which was done accordingly.

Perhaps the most notable passage in the book deals with Charles Rabou, whose novels Balzac and Heine "agreed in placing above all others," but who "made the most extraordinary literary failure ever heard of," being now utterly unknown, or near it. He couples Jules Janin and Gavarni as sharing the usual prejudice against "that literary pariah, Paul de Kock." As to matters not literary, he says that his friend Gavarni was no moralist, but "a kindly cynic, a genial pessimist," who failed to hit off types across the Channel, finding "no costume in England." Of Hans von Bülow he gives several anecdotes which illustrate the sensitive musical temperament plus German manners and personal temper.

Though no politician, Mr. Edwards is not indifferent to Continental affairs. He was in Paris during the *Coup d'État*, and saw a man, "apparently a patriot," encouraging others to defend a barricade, and later, when these had fled or been slain, conferring with the troops; he was one of those who had worked up resistance that it might be dramatically put down. General Uhrich spoke in 1870 of "that hateful family which has thrice subjected France to the misery of a foreign invasion." The Polish exile, Count Zamowski, is thus quoted: "An aristocracy without a democracy is like beef without mustard; but a democracy without an aristocracy is like mustard without beef." Prince Peter Dolgoruki divided the Nihilists into those with empty heads and those of empty pockets; the estimable Hertzen, he said, "could not govern two cats." One would like to hear this critic's summing up of the extraordinary Bakunin, on whom Mr. Edwards expends his longest chapter. This irrepressible zealot, travelling towards Dresden in 1849, happened upon a manor-house which was being besieged by insurgent peasantry. He "corrected the formation of the assailants, showed them how to set the house on fire, and continued his journey." In his last years he started an idiotic revolt near Bologna, and was rescued against his will by his peasants in a hay-cart.

Not all Mr. Edwards's refugees are equally tragic. He finds congenial "copy" in a Pole

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who went to Scotland to help liberate the Scots; "having suffered persecution himself, he felt for" others likewise afflicted. There was also a Garibaldian colonel who had but one shirt—red. His benevolent landlady sought to wash it in the silent hours; but the maid returned from his room in dismay: "Lor, mum, he's asleepin' in it!"

Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's: A Biographical Sketch by his son, Arthur Milman, M.A., LL.D. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1900.

The modesty which has kept back till now the biography of a man so distinguished in his day as Dean Milman, contrasts favorably with some examples of too hasty welcome of the dead to biographical honors; and the one volume into which the biography is compressed, suggests the shrinkage which many such works in two volumes or more would suffer could they be subjected to the weight of a few decades of impartial years. Yet, though Milman seems so far away, he was born (1791) only fourteen years before Martineau, who is but six months dead, and he was a literary contemporary of Carlyle. His early schooling was at Eton, and he went into residence at Brazenose, Oxford, in 1810, and there had a brilliant course, raking in prizes of all sorts in a quite unprecedented manner. One of the Ingoldsby legends has preserved a fragment of his fame:

"His lines on Apollo
Beat all the rest hollow,
And gain'd him the Newdigate Prize";

and when Tennyson said, speaking of prize poems, they should not be regarded as poems, "not even Milman's," the general depreciation was less significant than the particular praise.

Milman shared with another Dean of St. Paul's the distinction of being a poet before he was a preacher, and in his case, as in Donne's, the distinction did not at first improve his chances of preferment. It is true that Milman's "Fazio" was very innocuous in comparison with some of Donne's poetical wild oats, but it was a play, and one that met with some success upon the boards, Fanny Kemble taking the principal part in it. Moreover, Ristori had it put into Italian with a view to assuming the rôle of *Bianca*. His next modest venture was 'Samor,' an epic in twelve books. This did not take the world by storm, but 'The Fall of Jerusalem' (1820) and 'The Martyr of Antioch' (1822) not only delighted the popular religious taste, but won the praise of good contemporary judges of poetry, securing for Milman the professorship of poetry at Oxford for five years. The fact that his lectures were delivered in Latin is one sign of many that the world does move.

He was a Quarterly Reviewer before Gifford's death, and thought kindly of that dread potentate, and was on the best of terms with Lockhart when that difficult person came in for the succession. But the great event of Milman's life was the publication of his 'History of the Jews.' It is difficult to imagine that his book was considered dangerous seventy years ago, so blameless is its innocence in comparison with Kuenen and Wellhausen, and their kind. When it appeared, it was denounced as "an impious book," "a gross misrepresentation of the Word of God," and there was a great tempest over it in the Anglican teapot. Milman was in truth one of the pioneers. His book was, as Dean Stanley said, "the first decisive inroad of German theology into England; the first palpable indication that the Bible could be studied like another book." Its worst offence was its attempt to relate Jewish history to a natural development, and especially that it called Abraham a "sheikh." A 'History of Early Christianity' followed and stirred up less wrath, though it carried over the method of the Jewish history to more dangerous ground. Out of his work on this book grew Milman's once famous, now somewhat discredited, edition of Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall.' It is amusing to find a friend suggesting to Milman that his Gibbon might be published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. "Nothing," wrote Milman, "but the most merciless castration will bring him within their notions of safety and propriety," and he did not propose to omit one word. Surely a Christianized Gibbon would be like Dr. Holmes's convivial song which was made over into a temperance ode.

A much better book than the 'Early Christianity,' and a truly noble one, was Milman's 'Latin Christianity,' which was published in 1854-55. It was warmly praised by Stanley and Froude and Dean Church; thousands of clergymen found it "as interesting as a novel"; its glowing style was no deduction from its more solid traits; and those who think it has been superseded make a great mistake. Dean Milman's relations to the Colenso and 'Essays and Reviews' controversies were very creditable, and breadth and liberality were at all times distinguishing features of his mind. The Tractarian excitement seems to have overpassed him like a summer cloud. His picture facing that of the title-page is not sicklied over with the pale ecclesiastical cast. It suggests the bluff and hearty captain of an East Indiaman. There is every reason to believe that he was a gentleman after the manner of the Chevalier Bayard.

A Treatise on Zoölogy. Edited by E. Ray Lankester. Part III. The Echinoderma, by F. A. Bather, assisted by J. W. Gregory and E. S. Goodrich. London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. 1900. 8vo, pp. viii, 344. With many illustrations.

This work, although entitled Part III., is the first publication of a series of volumes to comprise a comprehensive treatise on Zoölogy planned by Prof. E. Ray Lankester and under his editorship. The authors are, for the most part, graduates of the University of Oxford, though it is not contemplated to restrict future volumes of the series without exception by this limitation. Each of the larger groups of the Animal Kingdom is to be described by a separate author or group of experts, and, as far as practicable, the editor aims to preserve a certain uniformity of scope and method.

The general object of the treatise is to give a systematic exposition of the characters of the classes and orders of the animal kingdom, with a citation in due place of the families and chief genera included in the groups discussed. A main purpose of the editor has been that the work should be an independent and trustworthy taxonomic presentation of the main facts and conclusions of animal morphography, especially for the uses of serious students of zoology. The work as a whole will comprise ten demi-octavo volumes of about the size of the present one, which will be issued without reference to logical sequence, as soon as ready for the press. Besides the editor, among those who have consented to take part in the preparation of the series, Professors Poulton, Benham, Weldon, and Minchin, and Messrs. Bourne and Fowler, may be mentioned.

The present volume constitutes an independent manual of the important group of the Echinoderms, including the sea-lilies, sea-urchins, and starfishes, besides other less familiar groups. It is illustrated by more than three hundred figures, nearly all of which have been specially drawn for this publication, many of them from generic types in the collection of the British Museum. Bibliographical references to the more important papers in the literature, and a complete Index to generic names and technical terms, have been provided.

The endeavor has been made to combine with a comprehensive, systematic treatise the historical or evolutionary succession of life in the class more thoroughly than in any previous publication on these animals. The chapters on Echini, Starfish, and Ophiurans have been written by Dr. J. W. Gregory, formerly of the British Museum and now professor of geology at Melbourne; that on the Trepangs or Holothurians by Mr. E. S. Goodrich, demonstrator of anatomy in the University of Oxford; the others by Mr. F. A. Bather of the British Museum, who has acted as sub-editor under the supervision of Professor Lankester. For many years Mr. Bather has been recorder of the literature of Echinoderms for the *Zoölogical Record*, and in charge of the collection of these animals in the British Museum. His very intimate knowledge of the Crinoids and the opportunities above mentioned have given him an equipment for his present task such as no other zoölogist possesses.

Bather divides the Cystidea of the palæozoic age into four orders, from one of which, the Amphoridea, by five different lines of descent, the Echinoderma have probably been derived. From the Edrioasteroid line, we may suppose the Holothurians, starfish, and echini developed in the order named; while representatives of the original stock persisted to the close of the Carboniferous epoch. The Diploporite line ought properly to include the Blastoidea, and from it probably arose, as a fresh development with a new lease of life, the important class Crinoidea, of which representatives still exist. The other lines were less successful, and none of them survived the Silurian. According to Bather, there are not less than seventy families of Crinoids, and their classification has been a work of extreme difficulty, scheme after scheme having been tested and rejected. The classification of Wachsmuth and Springer, though by far the best from an anatomical standpoint, is not, according to our author, the phylogenetic classification sought by the modern biologist. He takes the character of the "cup," which has either one or two circles of plates, as fundamental; this distinction running back to Archæan obscurity.

It is inadvisable to attempt here any detailed discussion of so technical a subject; let it suffice to say that the work appears to be of the highest quality, and to have all the promise of proving a permanent addition to the small list of manuals which

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do not lose their value with the lapse of time. The illustrations are of a high order of excellence. The portions of the work due to Messrs. Gregory and Goodrich lack the distinction of that which we have just referred to, but give a good general discussion and illustration of the groups concerned, which will be appreciated by students.

The United States Naval Academy. By Park Benjamin of the Class of 1867. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900.

This work is mainly a history of the Academy at Annapolis, though the earlier pages are devoted to a description of the life and education of midshipmen before the Academy was called into existence and definitely established at Fort Severn at Annapolis, Md. It is to be regretted that the author has detracted so much from the dignity of his work by a flippant and affectedly quaint style for the sub-title and chapter headings. The book really is of importance and possesses substantial merit, and is by far the best extant upon its subject.

There seems no doubt that Mr. Benjamin has cherished a lively interest in his Alma Mater, as well as in the naval service from which he severed his connection many years since. His success in life in other pursuits has not weakened his affection for the scenes of his youth, and he has paid his tribute to the institution that shaped him in the present labor of love. Tracing the midshipman and his rôle from the first beginnings in the English navy, the author commences with our midshipmen at the creation of the navy in Revolutionary times, before which many of our colonial families were represented in the English navy, *e. g.*, the Brentons of Newport, R. I., one of whom became in later years a historian of the British navy. The midshipmen of the American navy during the Revolutionary war had the pay of twelve dollars a month, and were presented with a uniform of a blue coat and breeches and a fine red waistcoat. The men before the mast wore green shirts in those days. The way of the midshipman was hard, for it is recorded that John Paul Jones, when in command of the *Ariel*, not only found it necessary to "kick Mr. Fanning, midshipman, and order him below," but to "put Mr. Potter, midshipman, in irons for a thermometer being broken in his cabin." It was the only thermometer in the possession of the doughty commander, and the provocation was considered great. In the quasi-war with France that followed years afterwards, the estimation in which midshipmen were held was greatly increased, and Midshipman James Jarvis, as all patriotic boys well know, received the thanks of no less a body than the Congress of the United States for gloriously preferring certain death to the abandonment of his post on the *Constellation*.

President Jefferson desired to have the midshipmen of the navy educated at the Military Academy at West Point, and subsequently a bill was reported in the Senate which provided for the removal of the Military Academy from West Point to Washington, its reorganization, and the instruction therein of midshipmen. This measure was never passed by Congress, and midshipmen were taught by naval instructors afloat until the establishment of the school, in 1838, in the building erected for the Naval Asylum, now the Naval Home, at Philadelphia. This school was lax in discipline and systematic instruction, but fortunately included among its small staff of instructors the well-known mathematician Prof. Wm. Chauvenet, afterwards of Washington University, St. Louis, but whose name was more particularly linked with the establishment and progress of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The foundation of the Naval Academy was due to the astuteness of Mr. George Bancroft, the historian, while Secretary of the Navy, in 1845. Without waiting longer for the action of Congress, having secured favorable recommendation from a board of officers of high rank, appointed as an Examining Board at Philadelphia for a naval school to be located at Annapolis, he proceeded, on the 7th of August, 1845, to direct Commodore Franklin Buchanan to assume charge of the school thus recommended to be established, and to prepare for the approval of the Navy Department a plan for its organization and administration. This was done without reference to Congress; the Secretary of War having transferred, with the approval of the President, the abandoned post at Fort Severn, near Annapolis, to the Navy Department as a site for the school.

Although the grounds and buildings at this antiquated post were little fitted for the proposed institution, still a permanent abiding place was secured and a future marked out, and the Superintendent (as Buchanan was termed), with an academic staff of seven instructors, began work on October 10, 1845. No systematic courses were provided for, and the length of stay and date of departure were both uncertain; but progress was made, and in August, 1846, Congress made its first recognition by an appropriation which continued annually, and in 1851 the course at the Academy was made a consecutive one of four years, and it was further provided that no one could have a warrant as midshipman who was not a graduate of the Naval Academy. The senior graduate of the class entering in 1851 is the younger Admiral Selfridge. Concerning this, the author says:

"It required the span of Selfridge's active career, forty-seven years, to bring this about. The Mexican war was fought by naval officers educated wholly under the old system, and the only representatives of the naval school in active service were a few young midshipmen, like Simpson and others, who had been in attendance at Annapolis for a few months. The naval officers in responsible command during the civil war were all of them of the old navy. Not only the youngsters of the Naval Academy, but all the oldsters, were lieutenants when the war began, and none of them reached the grade of commander before it closed. The Spanish war was fought wholly by graduates of the Naval Academy who had gone through the regular course, and by a few survivors of those officers who had entered the regular navy from the volunteer service at the close of the civil war."

The civil war confronted the Academy with a novel situation. Not only was the Academy depleted by resignations of the midshipmen from the South, and the ordering into service at once of the upper classmen, but the geographical situation of its site south of Mason and Dixon's line brought it into the area of the earlier warfare of this great struggle. As a consequence, the Naval Academy was moved, so far as it could be, to Newport, R. I., on the 9th of May, 1861, and enjoyed the hospitality of the War Department, part of the time at Fort Adams, and part at Fort Wolcott on Goat Island, the site of the present naval torpedo station. To this afterwards was joined the occupancy of the Atlantic House, a large summer hotel opposite Touro Park, by the upper classes.

The four years at Newport were the eventful ones of the civil war, and, under the war impulse, the Academy rapidly filled up. The class entering in the autumn of 1861 numbered more than two hundred, all of whom were quartered on board of the old frigate *Constitution*, which was moored in the inner harbor of Newport, close to Goat Island. Notwithstanding the manifest difficulties of the position, and the temporary and improvised nature of the establishments, the discipline of the Academy was well maintained, though class and corps feeling naturally suffered. Classes were divided and subdivided, and portions hastened into the service; for in our navy, as in the army, there never seems to be on hand the small reserve to meet emergencies or to allow for systematic courses of training and education.

The war over, the long term of Commodore Blake, then a retired officer, came to an end, and with the unwise return to Annapolis came the progressive and energetic administration of Admiral Porter, who gathered about him the élite of the younger men who had distinguished themselves in the war. The author, who was a midshipman during part of this régime, is perhaps not unnaturally disposed to remark upon the transition as well as to exalt unduly the administration. Circumstances favored the changes, excellent as they were, and the times were such as naturally exist with respect to military services at the end of successful wars. The facts certainly were that Porter did leave the standards of scholarship higher and the military and general tone better than he found them, though he was far from founding a college or creating a university. The work of Craven, the brothers Rodgers, George and Raymond, and of Simpson was advanced and supplemented by the successful efforts and influence of Porter, Ramsay, Sampson, and Luce.

Of the last-named, Mr. Benjamin says:

"It is difficult to convey to any one not of the navy an adequate appreciation of Rear-Admiral Luce's great service to the cause of naval education, unless adequate record is made of the admirable work of his later years in the establishment of the War College and of the naval-apprentice system, of both of which he was the originator. But Luce's 'Seamanship,' which was written for the midshipmen, and which appeared in 1862, has been the authoritative text-book of the navy on its subject ever since, and is so still. . . . Every youngster has grappled with it until its very words are crystallized into the brain-structure of the navy personnel."

Luce, though holding the position of Commandant of Midshipmen, never became Superintendent, but his name will always be linked with the history of the Academy.

The course of the administration at the Academy has not always run evenly; but no more successful and creditable régime has existed than that brought to a close in July, 1898, by Capt. Philip H. Cooper, as superintendent. The reconstruction of the buildings upon a comprehensive plan and with fine architectural effect should be accompanied by a reconstruction of the curriculum, in accordance with the demands of a modern naval service and of the newly

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reconstructed personnel of the official grades. It is to be hoped that an advanced entrance examination will compensate for the proposed shortened course from six to four years, and that a brick-and-mortar policy will not lower the attention to the personnel of the Academy, without which its *matériel* is nothing.

The Architectural Annual. Published under the auspices of the Architectural League of America, and edited by Albert Kelsey, President of the League, etc., etc., etc. Issue for 1900. Philadelphia. Pp. 292.

This book, in form a small folio, appears as the first publication of the Society named on its title-page, and is sold by subscription only. The motto, "Progress before Precedent," occurs on the cover and on the false title, and allusion is made to it at many points throughout the volume. It seems to be admitted that, in theory at least, the object of the A. L. A. is to encourage such a habit of thought, and to lead the so-called designers of the country in the paths of wholesome and natural design, away from the narrow semi-archæological view which too many of them have taken of their art, and that at all epochs since the French Revolution. The Annual contains papers especially devoted to the works of the more original and more independent architects, those less given to the mere copying of ancient work. There are also papers by other men who might be distinguished by similar epithets. And again, there are notices of men of absolutely the contrary habit of mind; and as much space is allowed to the non-original designs of the day as to those showing some slight ray of intelligence and independent thought. This is inevitable in the present condition of the art in the United States, unless it should be the resolve of the editor to make a book wholly on certain lines, urging this and ignoring that, pushing the argument vigorously on the right lines, and answering as vigorously the objections that are or may be made.

It is evident that nothing like this has been attempted in the book under consideration. The reprint of Mr. Brooks Adams's stirring but not very intelligent speech, delivered at the dinner of the Sculpture Society and Mural Painters in New York not long ago, bristles with patriotism and sonorous assertions that the country is a great country with great thoughts of its own, and that the architects ought to come up to the American standard of bigness and of energy. The address of President Van Brunt, of the American Institute of Architects, is the proper thing for a President to say at an annual meeting—something encouraging and cheerful; for he would be a poor president who should not, on such an occasion, keep up the spirits of the men who sit to listen. A very brief paper, entitled "The Modern Phase of Architecture," and written by almost the only one of the men in large practice who really has tried to design high iron buildings as if they were really high iron buildings—Mr. Louis H. Sullivan—occupies page 27; but it was a paper read in the absence of the writer, and consists of generalizations wholly. The Baltimore Conference on Municipal Art, which was held in December, 1899, is briefly noticed by Mr. George Kriehn. The recent international competition for the University of California receives much fuller notice, and a great number of plates are added which, in their form of greatly reduced half-tone prints, can hardly be thought to render adequately the drawings of this memorable struggle. They represent, however, the unsuccessful as well as the successful designs. There is an interesting paper on bridges as accessory to city embellishment, and the ten pictures selected for this serve their purpose well as illustrating the text. By way of illustration to different articles, a very great number of interesting pictures are included in the book. But as for the avowed purpose of the League, all that can be found bearing upon that important subject is the tone of the criticism here and there. Thus, for instance, the Dewey Arch, admitted to be admirable as a piece of associated sculpture, is overhauled vigorously as a mere copy of a Roman original.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Acker, F. Pen Sketches. Philadelphia: Published by the Author.
Bingham, C., and Thompson, G. H. The Animals' Trip to Sea. E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.
Gould, Rev. E. P. The Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Macmillan. 75c.
Hough, E. The Girl at the Halfway House: A Story of the Plains. Appletons. $1.50.
McMillan, Margaret. Early Childhood. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. $1.50.
Mead, Prof. W. E., and Gordy, W. F. Practical Composition and Rhetoric. Boston and Chicago: Sibley & Ducker.
Murray, J. A. H. The Oxford English Dictionary: A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Henry Frowde. Gradely—Greement, Vol. IV. Inferable—Inpushing, Vol. V. 60c. each.
Otto Hübner's Geographisch-Statistische Tabellen aller Länder der Erde 1900. Frankfurt: Heinrich Keller.
Perrot, G. Art History in the High School. Translated from the French by Sarah W. Moore. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. 50c.
Radau, Rev. H. Early Babylonian History. Henry Frowde.
Reitterer, T. Leben und Werke Peter Pindars. Leipzig: W. Braumüller.
Scoble, J., and Abercrombie, H. R. The Rise and Fall of Krugerism. A Personal Record of Forty Years in South Africa. F. A. Stokes Co. $3.
"The Georgian Period," being Measured Drawings of Colonial Work. Part V. Boston: American Architect & Building News.
The Voyage of Robert Dudley to the West Indies, 1594-1595. Edited by G. F. Warner. London: The Hakluyt Society.
The Story of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. New York: The Christian and Missionary Alliance.
Walton, Joseph. China and the Present Crisis. London: Sampson Low & Co. 6s.

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